

# FIGHT RACISM! FIGHT IMPERIALISM!

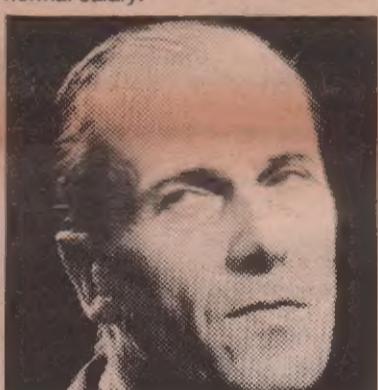
Anti-imperialist paper of the Revolutionary Communist Group

Issue No 32 September 1983 Price 20p

## NEW DOLE SQUADS ATTACK

If you're on supplementary benefit you may have come across the heavy methods of the DHSS Specialist Claims Control Units, those notorious gangs of snoopers and interrogators who try to frighten claimants at random into withdrawing their claims.

People who sign on for unemployment benefit are now to get the same treatment. The Department of Employment admitted on 8 August that the government will soon set up Regional Benefit Investigation Teams. This follows what they call 'successful pilot schemes' which they say detected 'fraud' but they are not publishing any figures. A lot of this group's work will be carried out at night and so each officer will be lavishly rewarded by being able to draw £34.80 expenses in London per night for the first 30 nights on a case. This is more than a single person on unemployment benefit gets in a whole week (£25)! After this the expenses rate goes down somewhat but it's all on top of normal salary.



The DHSS SCC units are already infamous for their bullying and lying tactics, all aimed at striking fear into those they think are weakest; particularly single women with children. The new DERBI teams will obviously use the same odious methods especially as the instructions they've been given by their boss, Minister Norman Tebbit, emphasise that they should 'not engage in the "dogged pursuit of evidence" but rather "confront claimants with a few suspicious facts" in order to get them to stop signing on. The aim here is not to punish by prosecution, which the Fraud Squads are so keen to do, but instead to get the unemployment register figures down.

As well as this, the government will probably soon make cuts in the amount of social security paid to unemployed youth. A secret DHSS report now being considered by ministers suggests that big savings of between a hundred and two hundred million pounds could be made in DHSS expenditure. If you're 16 or 17 years old and you live in your parents' home a cut of seven or eight pounds could be on the way which would bring your money down to about £13 a week (roughly the same as an unemployed parent gets to support a child of ten years old). If, however, you've been lucky enough to find your own room or flat then your rent allowance would be stopped if the DHSS decided that your parents were able to 'accommodate' you in their home. Then of course, having lost your home, your personal allowance would be cut because you live with your parents. Ruling class politicians often go on about the 'disincentive' aspect of dole payments. Nigel Lawson emphasised this again on TV shortly after the election and Margaret Thatcher said

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## WAR IN CHAD

Hissene Habré was installed as President of Chad in 1982, after CIA funds and mercenary troops had helped him to drive the Transitional Government of National Unity (TGNU) from the capital Ndjamena. A year later TGNU forces, composed of eight factions from across the country, had regrouped and were outnumbers and out-fighting the Habré regime's troops. Imperialism has responded with a massive show of unity and arms to impose its will on Chad, and to try and break the right of these African people to self-determination.

Two thousand French trained Zairean soldiers were ferried in US transport planes to back up Habré's retreating army. The US government rushed in twenty-five million dollars of military aid to their client. Warships of the US Sixth Fleet cruised on 'standby for operations' in Libyan waters, and US jet-fighters invaded Libyan airspace intercepting Libyan planes. The US Rapid Deployment Force began military exercises in the Sudan, bordering onto Chad, while two US AWAC surveillance craft stalked the skies above the Sahara. Then, surprisingly, President Reagan announced that Chad was 'not

our (US) primary sphere of influence. It is that of France.'

Reagan's confidence in the Socialist Party leader and President of France Mitterrand was well founded. Mitterrand, who in 1976 had castigated Giscard D'Estaing as a 'pyromaniac fireman' playing 'the gendarme of Africa' for launching a previous military expedition to Chad, had let it be known this June that 'France will fulfill its commitments to Chad without reservation'. This was a reference to one of the military 'aid' agreements France imposed at their independence upon thirteen of its fifteen former African colonies, secur-

ing for French imperialism the right to intervene militarily in them. By July the third major French operation in Chad since the granting of formal independence in 1960 had commenced with the delivery of 235 tons of weapons. As these proved inadequate the French state followed up with its biggest military campaign since its war against the Algerian battle for independence. Its forces, thirty thousand of them spread through bases across the old French West and Equatorial African empire, have been focussed on Chad

### MEDIA CAMPAIGN

The *Guardian* newspaper waxed lyrical about the 'military finesse' of the 'logistically impressive French intervention' as troops were mobilised from Senegal, Gabon, Cameroon, Niger, the Central African Republic and Paris equipped with tanks, helicopters, missiles and jets

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Hackney

## COMMUNITY POLICING STARTS TO BITE

For several weeks Stoke Newington police had been trying out a new tactic, the use of dogs to intimidate the black people they stop and search. Then, on the afternoon of 28 July in Kingsland High Street and Sandringham Road, things came to a head in a way that showed the police using a situation, provoked by themselves, to practice their crowd control techniques.

A young black man had given his savings book to a woman friend. Seeing this, and no doubt 'assuming' it was stolen, two policemen with their dogs stopped and searched her. One of the Alsations was let free to sit on the corner as shoppers including children walked by. As the police were searching her bag, her friend returned. By this time a police car had arrived and the police tried to put the woman into the back of it, where another unattended Alsatian was sitting. Two police grabbed the man and forced him into a display cabinet, breaking the glass.

In seconds a crowd gathered and more police and dogs zoomed in until there were three police vans, three police

cars and a dog van. Witnesses described a frightening scene of shrieking sirens and growling dogs. Then the police let the dogs go at the crowd of onlookers. At least three bystanders – all black – were bitten and had to go to hospital. Eugene Knight was walking to his hairdressing shop when he was attacked by one of the dogs, bitten viciously on the thigh, and told to 'piss off' by the handler. Another man was walking home from work:

'...4 or 5 of them had dogs, one which I know by the name of Ginger (G407) who always harasses black people. As I walked to the corner opposite the Rio cinema a police officer approached me and pushed

me several times telling me to move. All of a sudden he let his dog go. It jumped towards me at waist height. If I did not jump back it would have been worse because the dog bit me just above the knee.'

Three people were arrested and charged with deception and theft, obstruction and Actual Bodily Harm.

Was it coincidence that the local *Hackney Gazette*, out just that morning, had a picture of the police dog unit under the headline 'Nothing Menacing About these Dogs... Unless, of Course, You Happen To Be A Burglar, Pilferer or Bag Snatcher'. That afternoon showed there is everything menacing about the dogs... especially if you are black.

The Stoke Newington and Hackney Defence Campaign responded by producing a bulletin and distributing it around the area the next day; by arranging a showing of slides taken of the event to those involved and local youth; by taking up the issue at the Saturday street meetings in nearby Ridley Road; and by helping with the legal defence of those arrested. At least two of those bitten are taking legal action against the police.

see photos on page 4

Charles Bolton

## ANTI-SOVIET HYSTERIA

The tragic deaths of the passengers and crew of a Korean Airlines plane is being exploited by the imperialist governments to whip up anti-Soviet hysteria in the months remaining before the introduction of Cruise and Pershing missiles into Europe.

The full facts of the incident are not known and may never be known. However a number of points are clear.

● The imperialist version of events cannot be trusted at all. When one of the CIA's U2 spy planes was shot down 1,200 miles inside Soviet territory in 1960, NASA claimed it was one of its weather planes which had disappeared over Turkey while its pilot was suffering oxygen problems.

● It is clear that the plane was violating Soviet territory in a very sensitive security area. Maps quite clearly warn that aircraft flying into the area may be fired upon without warning.

● This is not the first occasion when South Korean aircraft have violated Soviet airspace. As the former head of US Air Force Intelligence, Major-General George Keegan has said:

'Despite the risks of flying near Soviet air space despite all the sensitive military installations that the Soviets have there, the Koreans continued to fly too close. The Koreans continued to bruise the Soviets on this. What happened, they invited. They should have flown much further away.'

● Soviet fighter aircraft made repeated attempts over a 2 hour period to warn the plane off. The plane ignored these warnings.

● The imperialists and their intelligence agencies were well aware that the South Korean plane was up to 300 miles inside Soviet territory for over 2 hours, yet made no attempt to return it to the scheduled flight path. No explanation has been given by the imperialists for this inexplicable behaviour.

These points suggest that, far from being an innocent case of a civilian aircraft straying off course, it is highly likely that the aircraft was deliberately and cynically being used by imperialist intelligence agencies to probe Soviet air defences. Four days after the incident the US now admits to having a spy plane in the area. The imperialists were quite prepared to risk the lives of the passengers and to provoke an international incident to achieve their ends. If the Soviet Union had not responded as

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# PRISONERS FORCE HOME OFFICE RETREAT

Concerted resistance by prisoners combined with public exposure of the Board of Visitors kangaroo courts and support from outside has resulted in an unprecedented victory for Albany prisoners charged with mutiny following the Albany prison protest in May (see FRFI 30 and 31).

On 17 August the Home Office Prison Department revealed that it had suspended all outstanding hearings against prisoners charged with mutiny. The Home Office victimisation machine has been stopped dead in its tracks. The Home Office hoped that imposing vicious sentences in its mock internal courts would put an end to the growing protest of prisoners against the inhuman British prison system. The Home Office was in for a shock.

Following Albany 31 prisoners were charged – 28 with mutiny. When the hearings were suspended 12 prisoners had been convicted of mutiny and savagely punished (see inset), 3 had been convicted of lesser charges and 4 acquitted of mutiny charges. The Home Office, having censored the demands of the Albany protest, hoped it could quietly set about punishing protesting prisoners. On both fronts it was defeated.

The censorship was first broken by FRFI which published letters from Robert McGhee and Jimmy Murphy which revealed the demands, and extracts from a letter from Irish POW Eddie O'Neill which revealed the details of the agreement with the Home Office which ended the rooftop protest (see FRFI 31). Subsequently *The Guardian* also published details of the demands and the agreement based on a letter from Eddie O'Neill. Lying through its teeth, the Home Office continues to deny any knowledge of the demands or the agreement which it cynically broke. Nevertheless, the censorship was breached.

Then FRFI began to get information from various sources on the brutal punishments being given out in secret hearings up and down the country. This information was passed onto *The Guardian* where it was published alongside a detailed exposé of the rigged Board of Visitors hearings. With the public exposure of the crooked secret internal hearings and the savage sentences, the pressure mounted against the Home Office. Even members of the Boards of Visitors were forced to speak out and one –

Andrew Rutherford – publicly resigned.

The final blow was dealt by Albany prisoner Jimmy Tarrant. Jimmy Tarrant was charged with mutiny and was being 'set up' as a 'ringleader'. With the help of sympathetic lawyers he applied to the High Court for the right to legal advice and legal representation in the internal hearings. On Friday 12 August Justice Popplewell ordered a judicial review to rule on this question. This is expected to take place in September.

At the same time a European action started by Irish POW Sean Campbell – following the 1976 Albany protest when six prisoners got sentences of up to 690 days loss of remission and 133 days solitary – is due to be heard in the European Court of Human Rights at Strasbourg on 20 September. The European Commission has already condemned the internal disciplinary procedures. It is this condemnation which is due to be ratified on 10 September.

In the face of this and the continuing publicity the Home Office was forced to back down and suspend all outstanding hearings. This is a tremendous victory, not only for the Albany prisoners but for all prisoners who suffer in the barbaric British prison system.

Despite this defeat the Home Office continues to exact its revenge where it can. It has refused to suspend the punishments already meted out to prisoners already tried. This means that whatever the outcome of the legal actions prisoners will serve sentences of solitary confinement, lost earnings and association and suffer other punishments. But prisoners are fighting this too. Legal action is under way to force the Home Office to suspend the punishments.

Alongside this large numbers of prisoners are being transferred from prison to prison under the secret Circular Instruction 10/74 and being held in solitary confinement. Charles McGhee was acquitted in his hearing but is still in solitary confinement in Swansea prison. Chris Scales was also acquitted and is also in solitary confinement. He went

from Albany to Canterbury to Dorchester to Swansea to Wandsworth (for his hearing) and back to Swansea.

Irish POW Paul Hill, charged with mutiny but not yet tried, went from Albany to Parkhurst (where he was held naked overnight in the 'strong box') to Strangeways Manchester to Wormwood Scrubs and back to Strangeways. He too has been kept in solitary confinement. Irish POW Ray McLoughlin was transferred from Albany one week before the protest to Bristol then to F Wing Wakefield. F Wing is the renamed

and Paul Hill were due to be tried in the Scrubs for mutiny. James Bennett was tried and given 400 days loss of remission plus 56 days solitary confinement. However Paul Hill's hearing had to be postponed because a prisoner had emptied a chamber pot over Albany prison officers there to give evidence! This act of solidarity means that Paul Hill's case is one of the 12 suspended cases. There are reports of continuing resistance in the Scrubs.

Jimmy Anderson has taken the Home Office to court to win his right to immediate legal access with a view to prose-

## SUPPORT THE PRISONERS

In FRFI 31 we said:

'The real fighters for democratic rights in the prison system are to be found among the prisoners themselves.'

The continued skilful, courageous and determined resistance of prisoners following Albany and Wormwood Scrubs confirms this. With the help of supporters outside and sympathetic lawyers the prisoners have already scored a significant victory. If the various legal actions are successful then further important gains will have been made in the battle to win basic democratic rights for all prisoners. The British prison system is designed to strike fear into all working class and oppressed people and any victory against that system is a victory for all working class and oppressed people.

The Albany and Wormwood Scrubs struggle has also further exposed the bankruptcy of the organised Labour and trade union movement. Not one word of protest has been heard from this quarter. Not one act of solidarity. It is clear that these people cannot be relied upon to defend the rights of prisoners. The great majority of the British left too has ignored the continuing struggle in the prisons.

It is therefore up to the real supporters of the prisoners to come together in organised action against the vicious British prison system. All communists, democrats and other progressive forces must unite in defence of the prisoners, demanding: the immediate granting of the prisoners demands; an end to victimisation; and abolition of the internal kangaroo courts.

Victory to the prisoners!

Terry O'Halloran

## HOME OFFICE LIES

1. The Home Office has denied any knowledge of Albany prisoners' demands or of the agreement which ended the protest. The truth has been exposed by Eddie O'Neill, Paul Norrey, Robert McGhee and Jimmy Murphy.

2. The Home Office claimed that hearings were being conducted only in Liverpool, Manchester, Durham, Brixton and Pentonville. Subsequently, it transpired that hearings had certainly taken place in Wormwood Scrubs and Wandsworth and possibly in Winson Green and Leicester.

## Protest in Scrubs punishment block

The unbroken courage and resistance of Wormwood Scrubs prisoners was shown once again on Thursday 25 August when punishment block prisoners rose up against yet another instance of prison brutality.

A prisoner, suspected of having appendicitis, was being held in the punishment block and not getting any treatment. On Wednesday 24 August he began to cry out in pain at about 6pm. He was clearly in great pain and his screams could be heard all over the punishment block. Yet it was three hours before prison officers took any notice of his pain and suffering. At about 9pm they finally came and he was removed to the hospital.

The following morning, angered beyond endurance by this typically callous behaviour of the prison officers, punishment block prisoners protested using the only means available to them. They emptied chamber pots over prison officers. Increasingly this symbol of the degradation imposed on British prisoners is being turned into a weapon

against the prison officers.

After this the prisoners started attacking the fittings in the block and, according to reports, ripped out all the electric wiring. Prisoners who took part in this protest included prisoners already enduring lengthy sentences of solitary confinement for their part in the June protests in the prison. Strangely, it is reported that none of the prisoners involved has been charged for this latest protest. This is believed to be an attempt by the prison authorities to avoid any further publicity about events in the prison.

Following the protest Tommy Tangay was transferred to Portsmouth. Larry Delaney has also been transferred.

This protest underlines the humanity, solidarity and unity of purpose which is growing amongst prisoners. Isolated, cut off from their comrades, already suffering savage punishment, the punishment block prisoners did not hesitate to risk further brutality on behalf of a comrade.

Terry O'Halloran

control unit. Ray McLoughlin has been in solitary confinement throughout this time. So prisoners have suffered already nearly four months in solitary confinement.

## WORMWOOD SCRUBS STRUGGLE CONTINUES

In Wormwood Scrubs too prisoners are continuing to fight back. Here too the Home Office, aided and abetted by the mute and cowed British media, attempted to censor the protests of Wormwood Scrubs prisoners. However, FRFI has successfully broken this censorship. In FRFI 31 we reported Jimmy Anderson's exposure of the truth of the Scrubs protest and the brutal assaults carried out by prison officers.

Category A prisoner Jimmy Anderson revealed the fact that the protest on 16 June was in solidarity with Albany prisoners assaulted following the protest there. He also revealed the courageous protest of Tommy Tangay on 24 June. Tommy Tangay went onto the laundry block roof to expose the beatings of Jimmy Anderson and his comrades. For this courageous act of solidarity he was assaulted, spent three days in hospital and has been sentenced to 112 days solitary. This and other information was used in a series of reports in the *New Statesman*. This added to the pressure on the Home Office.

Predictably the Home Office responded to the protests with brutal punishments (see inset). But resistance continues.

On 19 July Irish POWs James Bennett

cutting prison officers for assault. The Home Office has a ruling that prisoners must begin internal complaint proceedings before they can have access to outside courts. This ruling obliges prisoners to reveal their case in advance to the very people they want to prosecute as well as opening them up to the infamous Rule 47/12 which makes it an offence to make 'false' or 'malicious' complaints. It is this ruling which Jimmy Anderson is challenging.

## FRFI FOR PRISONERS

**FRFI needs your help. We need your money to carry on the political service we provide to prisoners. There are many political prisoners and others who are becoming political in British prisons. They have a right to read FRFI and other political literature.**

**FRFI is already sent free of charge to over 40 prisoners, and more are added each week to the list. In addition, FRFI provides many prisoners with books, pamphlets and other material they cannot easily obtain.**

**We appeal to all our readers to help us continue providing these necessary political services. Please send us a donation. You can send £4 to cover an FRFI subscription for a prisoner, or any donation large or small. Please rush your donation to:**

**FRFI  
BCM Box 5909  
London WC1N 3XX.  
Cheques and postal orders payable to Larkin Publications.**

# SOUTH AFRICA

## UDF UNITES APARTHEID DIVIDES

'We see the UDF as bringing together and uniting individuals, groups, and organisations in a common programme of action. This is to demand an end to oppression, to demand one-person-one-vote, and a unitary and free South Africa.' Amanda Kwadi (currently detained with Albertina Sisulu).

A mass rally in Cape Town on 20 August which brought together delegates from 320 organisations and an estimated 12,000 people launched a new national organisation in South Africa - the United Democratic Front (UDF). The rapid development of the UDF as a mass political organisation indicates the growing political strength of black South Africans and is an important step in uniting and strengthening the struggle against apartheid.

The rally on 20 August brought together organisations from throughout South Africa involved in struggle against the racist regime. From squatters groups in the Western Cape fighting a daily battle with the racist police in order to remain in their homes, to revolutionary trade unions such as the South African Allied Workers Union, to church leaders such as Allen Boesak, to student groups such

as the Azanian Students Organisation, and women's groups such as the Federation of South African Women. Thus it was one of the most representative gatherings of the people in South Africa since the Congress of the People in Kliptown in 1955 which adopted the Freedom Charter. The leaders of the Congress and of the South African people are still in prison, yet the elected leaders of the UDF still stand by the Freedom Charter.

The UDF was formed in defiance of the racist regime's attempt to divide black people in South Africa by granting the vote to Asian and 'Coloured' people whilst still denying it to the black majority.

Malesela Benjamin Moloise, an ANC member, was sentenced to death on 6 June - just 3 days before the Moroka 3 were murdered by the apartheid regime. Moloise was charged in connection with the killing of a black warrant officer. When the death sentence was passed, Moloise defiantly made a black power salute, and chanted a militant slogan.

Four ANC members have been executed by the apartheid regime. Solomon Mahlangu was hanged in 1979. Marcus Motaung, Jerry Mosololi, and Simon Mogoerane, were hanged on 9 June this year. They were hanged because they were members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, while the real terrorists remain in power. Dawn Trent

### LUXURY FOR APARTHEID SPY

South African spy Peter Caselton is being given velvet glove treatment in Maidstone prison. Information about the privileged treatment of this apartheid spy has come from within Maidstone prison.

Caselton was given four years for his part in a series of break-ins in the London offices of SWAPO, ANC, and PAC. His fellow-conspirator Edward Aspinall was given 18 months. Two other South African agents - Warrant Officer Joe Klue and security police officer Major Craig Williamson - got away scot-free thanks to the protection of the South African Embassy.

Since he went to Maidstone Caselton has been made a 'blue band' - an extremely privileged position. He lives in the hospital ward with unrestricted access to TV, a shower and a flushing toilet. He is never locked up. He has the run of the prison - unsupervised. He even escorts other prisoners to and from the hospital ward. He has access to medical records and medical supplies. As a prisoner put it, he is 'a screw without a uniform'.

Such treatment contrasts sharply with the brutal and degrading regime imposed on other prisoners and is clear evidence of the continuing collaboration between British imperialism and the racist apartheid regime.

Readers should send letters of protest to their MP and the Home Secretary demanding an explanation. Terry O'Halloran

## VISIT TO SOUTH AFRICA

Amandla Kitson, the daughter of a South African political prisoner, was in South Africa recently to visit her father. She was accompanied by Richard Balfe MEP. David Kitson was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment in 1964 for membership of Umkhonto we Sizwe (The Spear of the Nation), the military wing of the African National Congress.

In a public meeting on 25 August organised by the City of London Anti-Apartheid Group, Amandla gave a report on her visit:

'Last year, I visited my father following the detention and torture of my brother Steven and the murder of my aunt Joan Alison Weinberg and on that visit I was very concerned by his ill-health and by the conditions he was being held in. It was because of my father's conditions in prison that we held the 86 day picket last year which resulted in the removal of those prisoners into better physical conditions. Just seeing my father's face when I walked into the jail on my 21st birthday was worth everything. I had ten visits with him, each of 40 minutes... He is in very strong spirits and sends his thanks to all who gave their support to the picket...'

Amandla gave a detailed account of the formation of new organisations in South Africa - the new overground Youth Congresses - SOYCO in Soweto, PEYCO in Port Elizabeth, and CAYCO in Cape Town. She spoke of the United Democratic Front and explained how their first newspaper *UDF News* was distributed in Johannesburg near the station used by black people:

'Suddenly there was a sort of scuffle and you could see people picking up and passing around papers from a pile in the street. In an instant all the

cans will vote in a referendum on whether to allow Asian and 'Coloured' MPs into their all-white Parliament. Alongside this the regime plans a further strengthening of its racist pass laws so that black people found in the cities without a permit would face a fine of R500 or 6 months in prison.

Black people without a permit would be forced into the mass concentration camps called bantustans (see FRFI 30). The UDF is determined to fight this attempt to divide and weaken the black people in South Africa and build a united force against the racist regime and its imperialist backers - part of the resolution of 20 August stated:

'We demand the immediate end to the US and British government's support for the South African government and we reject the policy of constructive engagement'.

The rally of 20 August was the culmi-



nation of months of local work by activists throughout South Africa. Presidents of local regions of the UDF, Archie Gumede, Albertina Sisulu (in her absence) and Oscar Mpetha were elected its National Presidents. Popo Molefe was elected national secretary and Mosioa Lekota publicity secretary. The organisation's patrons include Martha Mahlangu, mother of executed ANC freedom fighter Solomon Mahlangu, Nelson Mandela and all other prisoners sentenced to life imprisonment under South Africa's security laws. This indicates the close alliance of objectives of the overground UDF and underground ANC. The development of such a broad United Democratic Front alongside the armed struggle of Umkhonto we Sizwe - armed wing of the ANC - will bring forward the destruction of apartheid and thus of imperialism which lives off apartheid.

'UDF is a breakthrough for the people of this country in our struggle for justice, peace and freedom. UDF will shake the pillars of Apartheid. United we will win...' Albertina Sisulu.

Chris Fraser

### OSCAR MPETHA MUST GO FREE

On 29 June 74 year old Oscar Mpetha was released on bail pending appeal against a sentence of 5 years under South Africa's Terrorism Act. Oscar Mpetha has been in the leadership of the revolutionary movement in South Africa for over 30 years - he helped found the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) in 1955 (see FRFI 31), and on 20 August was elected as one of the 3 Presidents of the UDF alongside Albertina Sisulu and Archie Gumede. In the middle of August Oscar Mpetha's leg was amputated and he was re-imprisoned to serve his sentence after his appeal was turned down. Readers are asked to urgently protest to the South African Embassy and to write to the Foreign Office calling on the government to intervene on his behalf.

leader of the new National Union of Miners: 'He told us the way in which his union is organised - to build amongst the community, taking a broader view of trade unionism.'

Awelakhe Sisulu, son of Albertina and Walter Sisulu, has recently been released from detention and is a journalist on the *Sowetan*, a major newspaper for black people. He had a long interview with Amandla. In it he highlights her political activity and her views on youth in Britain.

'After he was convicted his family moved to Britain where they have conducted persistent campaigns to highlight the plight of political prisoners in South Africa.'

One such campaign last year outside South Africa House in London led to the transfer of white political prisoners from Pretoria Central Prison...

In Britain she is involved in organising the youth and is also active in the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

'In Britain the youth has come to realise that the fight against apartheid is important. They have come to realise that the struggle against racism is inter-related because the enemy is one, be it in South Africa, London or New York. It is the problem of capitalism,' she said.

The youth in London, particularly the black unemployed and the working class youth, were beginning to identify with the struggle in South Africa.'

Amandla talked of her meeting with Zwelakhe Sisulu... 'He impressed upon me the importance of organising around the unassimilable symbols of unity - like Nelson Mandela and the Freedom Charter and this gave me



### FREE ALBERTINA SISULU

On 5 August Albertina Sisulu, President of the Federation of South African Women and the United Democratic Front and wife of imprisoned ANC leader Walter Sisulu, was detained by the South African security police. 3 days later she was charged under the 'Suppression of Communism Act' with furthering the aims of the banned ANC (African National Congress) and refused bail. The charge relates to a speech which she made on 9 August 1981 in which she said:

'Freedom is in our hands, let us stand up and fight side by side with our husbands, until we get our freedom. Stand up and intensify the liberation struggle.'

Albertina Sisulu's arrest took place a few days after the lifting of her banning order. When brought before the court on 17 August, the date for her trial, together with Thami Mali, was set for 17 October. The South African newspaper, the *Sowetan*, reported that:

'At the end of their appearance the court's silence was broken for a while when Mrs Sisulu turned in the direction of a packed gallery and raised a clenched fist.'

Free Albertina Sisulu!  
Send protests to the South African Embassy, Trafalgar Square, London

renewed inspiration as we agreed on campaigning issues and I felt proud when he congratulated us on the 86 day picket. He recognised the importance of youth in the struggle and asked me if I thought that from black youth in Britain leaders would emerge of the calibre of Bobby Sands.'

Amandla met Zinzi Mandela, daughter of Nelson and Winnie Mandela, three times. Zinzi Mandela is involved in the Youth Congress SOYCO which was forming while Amandla was in South Africa.

The highlight of the trip for Amandla was meeting Winnie Mandela on Women's Day. Winnie Mandela has just been re-banned for another 5 years and she is exiled to a remote part of South Africa hundreds of miles from her home.

Winnie Mandela told Amandla of the grave conditions in which her husband Nelson Mandela was being held. 'Comrade Winnie Mandela told me that comrade Nelson is mentally and physically healthy and is in as strong spirits as ever but that she doesn't know how anyone can continue to survive in the conditions under which he is being held.'

'Comrade Winnie was very interested to hear about the youth in Britain and wanted to know about the uprisings and what had caused them. We agreed that the youth in Britain realised that the struggle against racism is interrelated with the struggle against apartheid.'

Amandla drew the following conclusions from her visit to South Africa:

'The main thing I want to say to you about my visit to South Africa is that the common thread that binds all the people I met, my father, Winnie Mandela, the church leaders, the UDF and the youth congresses and the union leaders - all these people have the courage and determination which will destroy apartheid and it is our task in this country to build solidarity which will ensure that we join with the oppressed in South Africa and take the side of humanity.'

Amandla Kitson and her brother Steven Kitson are 2 of the 9 youths arrested on an AAM demonstration against the hanging of the Moroka 3 - three ANC freedom fighters. They were held overnight in police cells and the 3 women were strip searched. The 9 have set up the Trafalgar 9 Defence Campaign. Write for further details c/o 22 Brownlow Mews, London WC1.

# FIGHT RACISM

## Defend the Mozart Seven



On 18 July the Harrow Road police beat seven black women in their own home on the Mozart Estate (North Paddington) following an incident where the police were chasing a youth who they allege ran into the women's home. When the police attempted to enter the house the women asked if they had a warrant, at which the police called for reinforcements until there were more than 60 policemen on the estate. A cry of 'rush them' from a senior policeman resulted in police smashing down doors, beating up the women, turning the house upside down, even looking in drawers – as if a man could hide in a drawer!

Since the incident police violence on the estate has escalated. On Friday 5 August the police beat two men for using the term 'oi' whilst they were knocking on doors looking for someone they said had thrown a can of beer at them. That same evening squads of police with dogs came onto the estate and arrested anyone who asked them what they were doing and charged them with obstruc-

tion. It is clear that for Harrow Road police, community policing efforts are merely a front for their brutal activities.

On Saturday 6 August a picket to support the women, 3 of whom are charged with Actual Bodily Harm and 4 (including a 16 and 17 year old) with obstruction, was held at Harrow Road Police Station. More than 30 people were on the picket, which was on both sides of

the road. Many local people were standing nearby giving support, several passers-by, on hearing of what had happened, stopped and joined the picket which was militant and noisy.

The 7 women appeared in Marylebone Magistrates Court on 8 August and have elected to go before a jury. They are to appear in Marylebone again on 12 September for committal and the court will be picketed at 10am. There are also 2 pickets of Harrow Road Police Station on Saturdays 3 and 10 September at 12 noon.

**Self-Defence Is No Offence!  
Defend Your Community Now!**

Sarah

For information ring 01-969 0687

## Police Consultative Committees

# Legalised racist attacks

Particularly since the uprisings of '81, when the black youth led the fightback on the streets against the racist police, every effort is being made to isolate and crush these youth. Apart from massive stocks of riot equipment, including CS gas and plastic bullets, 'psychological warfare' has come into play. The fight against CRIME has become the order of the day. 'Stop these black muggers' = get those black youth.

Two of the many reactions to the uprisings were: (a) the release of racist 'crime' statistics, which concentrated on so-called 'muggings' – what the police/press termed 'black crime'. The gutter press failed to mention that this front page sensationalism concerned less than one percent of all 'crime'. It was obvious why. (b) The appointment as Head of the racist Metropolitan Police, of Sir Kenneth Newman, a man greatly welcomed by the ruling circles and the stooges for his ability and know-how. After all, Kenneth Newman had kept the flag flying in the occupied north of Ireland where he developed murderous tactics of riot control, made sure the fascist RUC were the most heavily armed police in Europe, developed techniques of surveillance and information gathering and of course torturing statements out of suspects – 12,605 passed through the interrogation centres in just over 3 years! On the other side of the Newman coin lies what would appear to be quite a nice chap, a great advocate of community policing (spying) and consultative committees (police/stooges talking-shops where police attacks would be explained away by puppets). It's just worth saying that before taking over as a torturer in chief at the yard, Newman trained the police cadets at Bramshill in his techniques!

In Hackney, more than anywhere else in the country, the police have been exposed for the racist, brutal thugs which they really are. Especially since the death of Colin Roach which they tried to cover up by terrorising the Roach family, brutally arresting 100 people and railroading 7 black youth to prison. But despite the rubber stamp inquest verdict the people of Hackney know the truth; they have lived it for too long. Because of this great exposure and the widespread opposition to the police

in Hackney, the police in their efforts to set up a consultative committee in Hackney, which has so far been resisted, have been forced, it would seem, to propose more concessions to Hackney than anywhere else. The Home Office has proposed that such a group in Hackney would deal with 'issues relating to the Borough, including methods of operations, practices, training and deployment of personnel'. So far Hackney CRE have decided to bite this rotten carrot and therefore sell out the community which they claim to have at heart.

Commander Taylor of 'G' division in a letter to the *Hackney Gazette* (26 August 1983) states 'we welcome the introduction of consultative arrangements... it is in the best interests of the people of Hackney that there is an understanding of police practices and procedures and that we all co-operate to reduce crime and make the borough a safer place for everyone.' Everyone, that is, except for black youth who are portrayed through the media as the main perpetrators of crime.

A quick look at the consultative group in Lambeth gives a very clear picture. After the Brixton uprisings the world could see that Brixton police were vile racist thugs feared and hated by the black community. The consultative group was set up there to try and make a lie of reality and also back up police actions through the mouths of puppets, so-called community leaders, who are also quick to condemn (try to isolate) the youth when they rebel against the racist police. You have a situation now, that even with the walkout of the so-called 'progressive' elements, the racist police-controlled group still stands. By the end of next month Lambeth will have sanctioned through this police group the first 'neighbourhood watch scheme'.

## COMMUNITY POLICING STARTS TO BITE

Below is a sequence of photographs showing the police with their dogs provoking the people of Stoke Newington: see page 1.

Police with dogs: stop and search...



and forced into glass showcase.



dog handlers face down Sandringham Road and set the dogs on the crowd.



These are nothing less than legalised gangs of racists going around beating up black people in the name of catching 'muggers'.

According to the *South London Press* (26 August 1983) 'Neighbourhood watch is all about people in one area keeping tabs on what's going on and telling the police when they see anything suspicious... No doubt the police will be highly selective about the areas where the initial schemes will be set up. They will want to show results in order to encourage those areas where people need a good deal more convincing that it is worth the bother.' And then in court a racist says 'it would have been easier to catch "the accused" than to get the police immediately because by then he would have escaped... and he got his injuries whilst I restrained him'.

We are already dying at an alarming rate at the hands of the 'law' as well as making up from 40% to 60% of prisons

## Notting Hill

# POLICE LIARS

The Sunday Times admits with classic understatement,

'The acquittal of four black men facing serious conspiracy and petrol bomb charges has raised disturbing questions about Metropolitan Police procedures in racially sensitive areas of London.'

Indeed. The police's violent assault on the black community of Notting Hill on 20 April 1982 raised 'disturbing questions' at the time.

Hill Housing Trust's three storey office. From his surveillance position overlooking All Saints Road, Kearney, equipped with night vision binoculars, had photographed and logged hundreds of people entering the Mangrove restaurant. After the police assault 16 months ago Frank Critchlow of the Mangrove said, 'My clear experience from last night is that the police have declared war against black people.' How true. And that war involves the same techniques of surveillance and repression tested by the British in their war against the nationalist population of the north of Ireland.

At the Old Bailey DC Kearney was called as a witness for the defence. An Instant Response Unit (IRU) from 'H' district claimed, as in the evidence of their leader Sergeant Thompson, that their van drew to a halt by All Saints Road and in the headlights' beam they saw eight youths standing around a milk crate and holding bottles with cloth wicks. The IRU's identification of Christopher Nelson, Oliver Etienne, Philip Herman and Walton Isaac was directly contradicted by Kearney who said that none of the four had been on All Saints Road and he had not seen any group of youths gathered around a milk crate. In fact, when the police attacked, Walton Isaac was inside the Mangrove phoning to get solicitors. A second IRU team parked on All Saints Road was also subpoenaed by the defence. No officer from this second unit could recall seeing the crowd of youths, milk crates or petrol bombs! The 'H' district IRU men admitted making their notes together in the police canteen and PC Goldbourn told the court, 'I have always made notes up with other officers.' Indeed.

Anxious to avoid such embarrassing own goals, Judge Martin congratulated the police officers, but he warned them to be 'more aware' about identification evidence in the future. With four of the five defendants acquitted Judge Martin reserved a concentrated dose of British justice for 18 year old Anthony Francis. The police say Anthony was one of the youths handling petrol bombs behind a barricade on the street. The sickeningly racist Judge Martin told Anthony, 'You were helping to make petrol bombs to throw at police officers and people must realise that if they do things like this then they will go to prison for a long time' and sentenced him to 18 months in custody. Judge Martin tailored his comments to fit the ruling class strategy of isolating the black youth as 'dedicated denigrators' of the police. He claimed that a small minority of political activists were behind an attempt to turn All Saints Road into a no-go area for the police.

From Whitelaw – 'I believe the operation conducted by the police in Notting Hill was an example of what is needed' – to torturer Newman to Judge Martin we hear the ruling class strategy to deal with black resistance. Targeting of the militant youth, vicious terror and then repression in the courts, accompanied by racist publicity and an alliance with 'moderates' to try and isolate the resistance and remove its political legitimacy.

**Crime Is Not The Issue,  
Racist Policing Is!**

**Ace Kelly**  
Chair SNHDC

**Andrew Goddard**

# FIGHT RACISM

## GOVERNMENT TO DEPORT HUNDREDS OF CYPRIOTS

The Home Office is in the process of deporting several hundred Greek and Turkish Cypriot refugees. They are among 3,000 who came to Britain in the wake of the Turkish invasion of the island in 1974. Last year about 500 people were given 'special permission' to remain here. But now the government is on the move to force out many of the remainder.

In mid-July police arrested Ahmet Fehmi from Stoke Newington and he is imprisoned in Ashford Remand Centre awaiting deportation. His wife and three young children will be forced to leave this country with him. Another refugee detained in Ashford is Kemal Sadik who has spent the last six years being shunted back and forth between Britain and Cyprus.

The Home Office says that 'all Cypriots displaced' by the Turkish invasion in 1974 have been granted leave to stay here indefinitely, 'provided they showed proper regard for the laws of Britain and regularised their stay here'. However the Home Office interprets displacement in an extremely narrow way. In the case of Ahmet Fehmi for example the Home Office says 'This family was not displaced by the events of 1974. They have no claim to remain... They will be

deported.' The grounds for this decision are that the Fehmis' home was in the Southern Greek sector of Cyprus and after the invasion the Fehmis were sent to the northern Turkish sector where they spent some time in a resettlement camp before coming to Britain. The Home Office is using the fact that several hundred refugees got temporary accommodation in tents to say that they were therefore not homeless at all! About a third of the island's population lost their homes during the 1974 war. The Cyprus problem was created and exploited by British imperialism to serve its political and strategic aims. Now it is expelling people as part of its racist drive against 'immigrants'. This attack on the Cypriot refugees must be exposed and defeated.

Gerald Johnson

## DEATHS IN CUSTODY

### HANGINGS GO ON

At the very time that MPs debated the reintroduction of judicial murder, the hangings in British prisons went on unnoticed and uninterrupted by the debate. From this point of view the debate amounted to a choice between hangings that are officially sanctioned as an overt deterrent and hangings that are unofficially sanctioned as covert repression.

John Beagan, aged 31, was gaoled for life in 1967. On Wednesday 6 July he was 'found hanged in his cell' in Edinburgh Prison.

David Woodrow was sentenced by Ramsgate Magistrates in June for six months for assault and criminal damage. He was 'found dead in his cell' at Camp Hill Prison, Isle of Wight on 8 July. He was 26 years old.

John Clarke, 35 years old, collapsed and died in the hospital wing of Birmingham Prison on 9 July. The post mortem proved 'inconclusive'.

Clive Tapper 'found hanged' in Pentonville Prison, north London, on 11 July. Clive was 29 and doing 3 months for criminal damage.

Martyn Abbott 'found hanged by a floor cloth' on 13 July in Leeds Prison. On remand and charged with murder, Martyn was only 20 years old. The organisation Inquest reports at least 11 deaths of remand prisoners in 1982.

John Arwal Jones, aged 25, serving 3½ years for theft, robbery and breach of a suspended sentence. 'Found hanged in his cell' on 19 July in Liverpool Prison.

John Ryan 'found dead in his bed' in Pentonville on 25 July. Aged 44 years, John was convicted of theft on 13 July at Marylebone Magistrates and sentenced to 3 months.

Glenochill Former inmates of the Glenochill Young Offenders Institution in Clackmannan, Scotland, report beatings by prison officers, drug taking and bullying as commonplace. Three youths, the last an 18 year old who is supposed to have hung himself, have died in the last year. Denying allegations against the screws, a Mr John Renton of

the Scottish Prison Officers Association said that, 'from time to time, there was bullying among inmates, but the prison staff tried their best to stamp this out'. Mr Renton did not detail how the screws do their stamping.

Terry Sinclair died on 12 August in Parkhurst Prison, Isle of Wight. The first reports stated that he was examined by two prison 'medical officers' and taken to hospital, but was found dead on arrival. Initially, the Home Office gave no reason as to the cause of death, but it did succeed in getting the story floated in the press that Sinclair, who was reportedly worth £25 million from drugs trafficking, was about to 'name names' concerning how money from drugs sales was supposedly used to buy weapons for the IRA. Thus Sinclair's death became another convenient peg for the British press to hang an anti-IRA smear. A second post mortem examination reportedly reveals that Sinclair died from a massive heart attack, which begs the question as to why the two screw 'medical officers' did not realise this at the time.

### POLICE CUSTODY DEATHS

Roderick McCuaig, aged 29, was released from police custody on Tuesday 2 August. He underwent brain surgery in Edinburgh Royal Infirmary where he was found to be suffering from a cerebral haemorrhage and he died without recovering consciousness. Mrs Anne McCuaig plans to make an official complaint against the police for releasing her son, 'in that condition'. James Davey, aged 40, died in hospital in March one week after his treatment in Coventry police headquarters. He had

## Racism grows in capitalist Europe

State racism is growing fast in West Germany and France as immigrant workers are forced to bear the brunt of the growing crisis. Just as in Britain, foreign workers were brought to West Germany and France during the boom to carry out the worst jobs at the worst wages. Now that unemployment is rising they are no longer required and racist state practices as well as violent unofficial fascist and racist attacks are being used to try and drive them back to their countries of origin.

Immigrant labour fuelled the boom to an enormous extent in France and West Germany. In France there is an immigrant population of 4½ million, largely from Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, providing cheap labour in factories and farms. In West Germany the immigrant population is 4.8 million, with Turkish workers making up one third of this number. 96,000 immigrant workers work in the car industry alone. In France and West Germany these workers have always been second class citizens, brought in on work permits and suffering poverty and insecurity.

The loss of their jobs renders them liable to deportation and forces them to find 'illegal' work with cut-throat employers who exploit their insecurity to the full. Their children born in West Germany have no right of abode or citizenship.

Now the Christian Democrat government of West Germany aims to reduce the immigrant population to between 2-3 million by 1990. Repatriation was a major theme of its 1982 and 1983 election campaigns under the slogan 'Germany is not a country of immigration'. New measures include a payment of £2,625 to any immigrant worker losing his or her job between October 1983 and July 1984 and prepared to return to their country of origin.

Immigrant workers drawing social security are liable to deportation. They are also liable to deportation if convicted of even minor criminal offences. Immigrant workers found to be living in 'inadequate conditions' can be deported. Political activity is also a cause for deportation thus making it very hard for immigrant workers to organise and fight for their rights.

The right-wing regime in Turkey is horrified by the prospect of millions of Turks returning to join the 20% unemployed in Turkey today. Already they can only keep the lid on social unrest by vicious repression, torture and death sentences. They also stand to lose the income from foreign remittances which Turkish workers abroad send back to Turkey. They preside over poverty and repression in Turkey and sell its sons

been detained for 17 hours while the police tried to get him transferred to London for questioning. Four years previously James Davey had beaten up a Coventry policeman.

When he arrived at hospital at 12.05 am on 13 March his face was a dark navy blue. Hospital staff restarted his heart and he was put on a ventilator machine but all attempts to revive him failed. Photographs taken on his admission to hospital show spider shaped bleeding points within the skin and the post mortem reports bleeding into the whites of the eyes - both signs that Davey's head was held in a tight grip for at least thirty seconds. The police admit there was a swift struggle between Davey and the police, which they claim was started by Davey trying to head butt the police, and that one officer put an arm lock round his throat while others handcuffed him and bound his feet with rope.

An independent pathologist says that James Davey 'was held almost certainly

and daughters to the imperialists abroad. The only Turkish immigrants they want returned are left-wing activists and they have given the West German government a list of 150 to be repatriated. The first 38 were sent back on 13 August and 8 were immediately detained to face torture and possible death. One Turkish worker in West Germany facing this fate committed suicide rather than suffer repatriation.

In West Germany the Social Democrats have been as racist as the Christian Democrats and the trade unions have acquiesced in racism throughout the post war period. In France, with its 'socialist' government the real racist face of social democracy is even clearer. Mitterrand's new measures include tighter controls over foreigners, speedier expulsion of 'illegal' immigrants, limits on employment of seasonal workers, a crackdown on social security claims. One union leader is publicly calling for all immigrants who have been in France for less than ten years to be deported. The French Communist Party (PCF) which has ministers in the government is renowned for its 'national socialist' and racist policies, which have in the past included prominent PCF members raiding and making uninhabitable an immigrant hostel.

The human cost of this is clear: poverty, suffering and unemployment and insecurity for those immigrants who remain. A return to destitution for those who are forced back to their countries of origin. And just as in Britain the police are spearheading attacks on black people, so in France immigrant workers are constantly harassed by the police. Fascist organisations are gaining ground with 'vigilante' schemes and in France last year a 9 year old Algerian child was shot dead. While in West Germany neo-fascist groups and racist attacks are increasing. Imperialism and racism go hand in hand and imperialism in crisis is breeding violent racism and fascism throughout Europe.

David Jackson  
Maxine Williams

by an arm from behind and his head was forced backwards... (In this type of death) the body is being arched over the assailant. This causes very rapid asphyxia and unconsciousness'. The pathologists disagree about whether James Davey died within seconds or later. His family had employed a second independent pathologist but he had to inform them that the body had not been preserved and was in too poor a condition to be re-examined. The coroner, who adjourned the inquest for pathologists reports, claims that no request to preserve the body had been received. Mrs Marie Jeffries, James Davey's sister, is adamant, 'We made the request for the body to be deep frozen through our solicitor immediately the hospital life support machine was switched off'. It is quite clear who is trying to find out the truth, and who is trying to obscure the truth, of what happened to James Davey in Coventry police headquarters.

Andrew Goddard

### NATIONAL MARCH AGAINST RACISM AND RACIST ATTACKS

Saturday 24 September  
Assemble 1pm  
Plashet Park  
East Ham, London E6  
Called by the Newham 8 Defence Campaign

### IN BRIEF

#### ● Home Office £6.43m racism

That racism is Britain's biggest growing industry has again been confirmed. In 1982 the Home Office made a profit of £6.43 million from nationality fees. At £200 the fee for naturalisation is twice as much as processing the application actually costs. Home Office minister David Waddington denies, of course, that these profits are 'excessive'. The Home Affairs Committee of Labour and Conservative MPs has criticised the huge profits and piously wished for a reduction in the fees, alongside suggestions for cutting administration costs. What do these MPs think is the fair profit to be made out of the British state's racism?

#### ● Duty bound

'Any one is entitled to use reasonable force against a police officer who goes beyond the bounds of his duty', an admirable principle unusually expressed by Judge Randolph in the trial of Stephen Wizard and Charles and Alan Dacres. These three Bradford youth were found not guilty of charges of assault on the police. Late on the evening of 14 November last year PC Kirk was sitting in his patrol car when he saw Stephen Wizard walking home and, because he 'was bored' ran a radio check on him. Kirk obtained the information that Stephen was wanted 'on suspicion of theft', and he called for reinforcements. Kirk, 6ft tall, PC Boomer and two more police then raided Stephen's home. Kirk punched Stephen in the nose, Alan Dacres was overcome as he came to Stephen's help (there were soon seven police inside the house and more outside) and Alan's brother Charles got a head butt in the face from the police. In court the three youths were shown to be justified in the eyes of the judge for resisting this unlawful arrest. Yet West Yorkshire police have not suspended any of the police officers involved. Such treatment of the youth is not only *within* the bounds of policy duty, it is routine community policing. PC Kirk plays in the same rugby team as Stephen! For the police, black youth are on suspicion of theft by definition.  
Andy Goddard

#### ● Cross Channel racism

The British Nationality Act has taken away the rights of black British people. This has been demonstrated by the French immigration authorities who have been turning away black British citizens travelling on 60 hour identity permits. The French immigration authorities say that according to the new Nationality Act not all British citizens have the right of abode in Britain. If only certain British citizens have the right of abode in Britain then the others are subject to immigration control and must carry more than a 60 hour identity permit. France is being racist in singling out only black people for this treatment, as there are many British citizens who are not black in the same circumstances. However, the responsibility essentially lies with the British government for introducing and implementing such a racist act.  
Nomsa

#### ● Mahmud Khan – victory at last!

After a three-year struggle against Home Office plans to deport him, Bradford Pakistani man Mahmud Khan has finally won the right to remain in this country. An immigration tribunal in London was forced to concede that Mahmud had not 'entered into a marriage of convenience' and had every right to remain in Britain.

In the course of his campaign Mahmud has made complaints against the police who at one stage tried to force him to sign a document saying that he wanted to leave of his own free will.

Here to Stay! Here to Fight!

Bill Hughes

# The Great British Bank Robbery

Government figures released this month strikingly highlight the parasitic character of British imperialism. British capitalism is only surviving because it is propped up by the profits from North Sea oil and its 'earnings' from the export of capital abroad.

Between 1972 and 1982 the rate of profit of manufacturing companies in Britain has fallen dramatically from 9.3% to 3.3%. In that same period North Sea oil profits have grown from an insignificant £50m to a huge £12.6bn – from a negligible proportion of gross trading profits of industrial and commercial companies to a massive 36.6% of the total. Meanwhile profits from overseas investment have increased from £1.7bn to £11bn. When compared with gross trading profits, this represents an increase from 22% to 32%. What these figures show is how much British capitalism has in the last decade grown dependent on monopoly profits from oil and from investment abroad.

The collapse of profitability in Britain has led to a rapid increase in the export of capital abroad each year. In 1972 private investors sent £1.4bn of capital abroad, compared to an investment of £2bn in manufacturing industry in Britain. In 1982 investment sent abroad had grown to £10.8bn compared to only £6bn in manufacturing industry in Britain.

These figures, however, significant as they are, are overshadowed by the towering size of British banking activities internationally. The overwhelming importance of the export of banking capital, the most parasitic form of capital, is shown by the growth of the gross external assets of British imperialism:

	Em	1972	1982
Direct Investment	10,635	45,325	
Portfolio (shares)	8,750	37,900	
UK Banks	28,640	295,052	
Total Private External Assets	48,025	382,277	

British imperialism's assets abroad have grown from a level equivalent to 87% of Britain's gross national product to 167% of GNP. And the banks' share of this total has grown to 77%. This is reflected by the increase in the banks' cut of the profits from assets abroad: up from 6% in 1972 to 24% last year.

Britain is a creditor nation: its net assets last year added up to £42.4bn, an increase of £11bn on the previous year, equivalent to about £2,000 per working person. As the wealth from North Sea oil begins to dry up so British capitalism will be forced to depend more and more on the profits from its investments abroad, and particularly on those from its parasitic banks. Imperialism is indeed parasitic and decaying capitalism.

Stephen Palmer  
David Reed

Police File is on holiday.

# NOTES & COMMENTS

## ■ Edinburgh man dies after being in police custody

29-year-old Roderick McCuaig had to be taken to Edinburgh Royal Infirmary, and had to undergo major brain surgery but doctors failed to save his life and he died the next day. This was hours after being in police custody.

Roderick was lifted by Edinburgh police and taken to Gayfield Square police station some time during Tuesday 2 August. Later that evening the police phoned his family and told them that he was at Gayfield Square police station and that someone should come and fetch him. A most unusual practice, don't you think?

His father drove to the police station. He said 'They opened the cell up. He was lying on the floor. He had wet himself. One of his shoes was off. We lifted him up and took him to the car. He couldn't move. He was unconscious.' Edinburgh police cannot get away with this. Why did they not phone for an ambulance? And how did Roderick get into such a condition while in police custody? Mr McCuaig drove home with his son lying across the back seat. When he got home he called an ambulance. Doctors at Edinburgh Royal Infirmary carried out brain surgery in a long middle-of-the-night operation in a bid to save his life. But their efforts were in vain. Roderick died later that day after spending all day unconscious on a life support machine.

Mrs McCuaig is planning to lodge an official complaint against the police. Roderick's aunt said 'there is something very wrong and I don't know what it is'.

On Sunday 19 June Mr Anthony Anika, a 38-year-old black man, was arrested by Edinburgh police. Later that night Mr Anika had to be taken to Western General Hospital from Charlotte Street police station, unconscious with internal injuries including damage to his kidneys and pancreas. He also suffered a heart attack.

Fred Stevens

## ■ Greenham Women defiant – we will not be moved

In recent weeks there has been an increase in the number of attacks made on the women at Greenham Common Peace Camp. These include shots being fired at the women, chemicals being squirted at them causing skin irritation, and boxes of live maggots poured into their tents as they slept. Attempts have been made to burn down their tents, and their belongings have been stolen. Obscene letters have also been received threatening the women with rape. Now some women are being placed on watch and whistles are blown to warn of possible attacks. The vigilante group in Newbury, Greenham Women Out, has claimed responsibility for most of the attacks. However, the women at Greenham have refused to be intimidated by these attacks and have said that they have only succeeded in making them even more determined to carry on their struggle.

It is this defiance which leads them to outwit the RAF police, MOD police, US Field Security Police, and the RAF regiment stationed at the base. Once again some women have cut through the perimeter fence and entered the base. In the 5 minutes before the alarm was raised they caused millions of pounds worth of damage by painting peace symbols on a top secret US spy plane Lockheed 'Blackbird' SR71, thus wrecking the plane's special heat shield. They also managed to daub slogans like 'No Nukes' on a nearby US tanker aircraft KC135.

The 7 women arrested, charged with criminal damage, appeared in Newbury Magistrates Court on 19 August. The Ministry of Defence, clearly extremely embarrassed by the whole episode, told the court that there was no evidence against the women and that the charges should be dropped. The women who had eagerly awaited this opportunity to explain their reasons, were furious at this cover up and angry shouts and chanting broke out. Supporters of the women were forced to leave the court, and 4 of the defendants were placed in cells. One defendant, Sarah Hiperson, 50, was jailed for 14 days in Holloway Prison for contempt of court. Another, Tracy Hammond, 18, was fined and received a 7 day sentence for non-payment of a fine.

The 13 women, charged with criminal damage costing £400, for cutting through the perimeter fence on 8 July are to be tried

by jury at Reading Crown Court on 7 November. They won their battle with the police, not to have their fingerprints taken for record purposes.

Meanwhile Newbury Council in their, as yet, futile attempts to rid their green pastures of the peace camp, have adopted a new by-law. This will enable them to ban any meeting, prevent parking, camping and lighting fires at Greenham Common. It has to be approved by the Home Office in September. The reply from the women at Greenham:

'We can say categorically that they won't shift our camp. Using petty legal measures has not worked so far and will not work in the future.'

Ruby Khan

## ■ Malnutrition in pregnant women

Unborn babies are amongst those paying the price of the imperialist crisis. A recent survey of pregnant women showed that nearly all the women in Hackney, East London, are 'at risk' due to insufficient diet with some mothers suffering serious nutritional defects. Malnutrition in a pregnant woman puts her child at great risk, with a higher likelihood of it being born retarded, having spina bifida or other deficiency diseases. Half the Hackney babies were born under the considered safe birth-weight, which is 6½ lbs, with quite a few babies weighing only just over 5 lbs. While in Hampstead, mothers have no such problems, with babies up to 2 lbs heavier at birth, the average birth-weight being well over 7 lbs.

The findings of this survey disprove the myth that the general standard of living in this country protects people from malnutrition. The Department of Health believes that you can solve all nutrition problems for pregnant women by oversupplying iron tablets, ignoring a generally insufficient diet and not even beginning to consider problems caused by inadequate housing or overcrowding.

Tessa Harris

## ■ Scotland – Land of Prisons

The *Sunday Standard* (24/7/83) recently ran an article on the conditions in a Scottish prison – Saughton Prison in Edinburgh.

In Saughton the cells, only 10 feet by 7½ are generally shared by at least 2 prisoners. The reason why more and more prisoners are being crammed into Scottish gaols is obvious – growing poverty and unemployment is forcing people to turn to 'crime' in order to put food on the table. Most prisoners are poor, unemployed, black, Irish, so-called 'immigrants' – those who are on the ruling class hit-list.

An Edinburgh solicitor claimed that Saughton is worse than Brixton Prison – a notorious dustbin for the racist London police. These appalling conditions are deliberate more often than not. Saughton's Governor said recently:

'I'm not unhappy about two in a cell provided I can choose and regulate the numbers involved but I don't like three in a cell at all.'

The *Sunday Standard* goes on to congratulate Cornton Vale Prison for its 'civilised' treatment of women prisoners by introducing electronic methods of watching the women in the prison lavatories!

Scotland is second only to the occupied North of Ireland in the 'league table' of Europe's prison populations. Many of these prisoners have not been sentenced but are held for several months on remand, as the *Sunday Standard* is also forced to admit:

'517 men and women on remand in Scotland are either awaiting trial or sentence, the bulk of them from Glasgow's Barlinnie and Edinburgh's Saughton.'

As the state increases its repressive conditions there may be another Albany where prisoners broke through the prison's censorship to be heard.

Willie C  
Edinburgh

## ■ Imperialists up in arms over war drive truth

Arthur Scargill, the mineworkers' leader, is once again on the receiving end of the splitting venom of the poisonous British lie machine. Scargill had the nerve to visit Moscow and there tell the truth about the root cause of the mounting war drive:

'Capitalism is in crisis. In a blind and stupid determination to preserve our present system, the United States and Britain in particular are ready to risk a nuclear confrontation... Warlike moves in the United States and various sections of the capitalist world are not moves in isolation. They are the moves of a system that finds itself diminished and increasingly under attack.'

The corrupt British press, which shamelessly and unquestioningly repeats every government lie about the mythical 'Soviet threat', immediately pounced on Scargill denouncing him for being unpatriotic. He gave a direct reply:

'I criticise Thatcher when I'm at home and I'm entitled to do it in Moscow...'

I am not prepared to be a party to attacks on the Soviet Union which has established a socialist system and wants to improve the quality of life of its people.'

Well said, Mr Scargill. But, guess which newspaper said 'Idiotic speeches like Scargill's help firmly tie the Russian albatross round our necks. Why doesn't he shut up...'? The Sun? The Daily Express?? No. It was none other than *Socialist Worker*.

Steve Palmer

## ■ Foot puts his mouth in it

That silver-haired, duffle-coated grandfather of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament Michael Foot is a good servant of British imperialism will come as no surprise to FRCI readers. But when he is reported to be as viciously militaristic as Margaret Thatcher by that servile lick-spittle of British journalism Sir Robin Day, we know that for once the truth has been told.

Foot confided privately to Day, his Tory friend, what he did not have the honesty to say at the time – that the bombing of the Argentine cruiser Belgrano with the resultant loss of 368 lives during the Malvinas/Falklands war, was unavoidable.

We always knew that unilateralist Foot just does not want a nuclear bomb dropped on Europe. But conventional war in pursuit of imperial power and plunder is quite within the tradition of the British Labour Party.

Susan Davidson

## ■ In the Service of the Peacock Throne

As the Shah of Iran's barbaric regime crumbled under the massive pressure of the Iranian people, the Shah-mass-murderer knew where to turn to for advice. On 12 October 1978 he sent a cable to his London ambassador, to ask for details of the State of Emergency legislation in Northern Ireland and Cyprus – a piece of legislation greatly admired in such regimes as South Africa. The ambassador, Parviz C Radji, relates in his book *In the Service of the Peacock Throne. The Diaries of the Shah's Last Ambassador to London* that he was somewhat puzzled as martial law was already in force. The Shah was evidently envious at the range of repressive measures at the disposal of British imperialism, and it was entirely fitting that he should want to know more from his ambassador to a Labour government – a government which was one of the most reliable and militant supporters of the Shah until his last days in power.

An indication of the fascist mentality produced by sections of the Labour Party is given by ex-Foreign Secretary Lord George-Brown's advice to the Shah, whom he insisted in visiting to assure him of his support: 'There is no point in having soldiers and tanks out in the streets if they aren't going to do anything' (p255). Labour 'opponents' of the Shah were equally obliging. When at lunch with Dame Judith Hart, then a Cabinet Minister, whose name appeared as a sponsor on the letterhead of the Committee Against Repression in Iran (CARI), he

mentioned the fact. Her response? 'To my delight, she blushed visibly, and asks whether her name still appears on the letterhead. When I confirm that it does she says 'It is wrong for a Government Minister's name to be there, and it must be removed'" (p180). Later on her assistant remarks that 'The British shouldn't talk about human rights to others as long as Northern Ireland goes on.' This makes no recorded impression on Ms Hart, who simply tells her assistant to remind her to remove her name (p181).

Let the Iranian masses be tortured and murdered so long as the blushes of a Labour Cabinet Minister are spared.

Patrick Newman

## ■ Police torture

Evidence of brutality police are using to extract confessions has emerged in material gathered by the *Sunday Times* about the serious crimes squad in Birmingham. Instead of the old style beatings which result in broken skulls, ruptured intestines and brain damage, today's police simply tighten a plastic bag round your head until you either asphyxiate or sign a fake 'confession'. Harry Treadaway, now serving 15 years solely on the evidence of an informer and a 'confession' describes the technique:

'It was tightened round my head and twisted... There were hands over my mouth and round my neck and on the cuffs. I couldn't see or think... I thought I was gone – I couldn't move at all. I collapsed in a heap and they said "Sign here". I turned to sign – I didn't know what was in the statement but he read it to me after.'

This form of torture to extract confession was used against the Irish people in 1971. 12 people arrested during internment had bags put over their heads for 7 days in addition to being beaten and denied sleep. The Birmingham police who are now using these methods against British prisoners are also notorious for brutally beating up 6 Irishmen arrested and framed for the 1974 Birmingham bombings. All appeals for justice have been turned down and an inquiry whitewashed those responsible. Harry Treadaway's complaint and the report of the police doctor were assessed by a consultant Home Office pathologist who concluded that the medical evidence 'made it likely' that Treadaway's complaint was true. Three other men are also bringing separate complaints about 'bagging'.



continued from page 1

It did further incursions and provocations would undoubtedly have followed. If the plane was shot down then the imperialists knew they could rely on their slavish press to whip up anti-Soviet hysteria – this being particularly useful in this period in order to force the European governments into line behind the US imperialist war machine, in the face of growing popular opposition to Pershing and Cruise.

The indignation over the deaths by the imperialist governments is mere propaganda from those who torpedoed the Belgrano causing 368 deaths, who daily murder Irish people, who backed Zionist slaughter of thousands in Lebanon last year and whose puppets daily slaughter countless workers and peasants in Central America and launch cold-blooded murder attacks against the people of Angola, Namibia and Mozambique. It is the imperialists who are the war-mongers and they will stop at nothing to defeat anti-imperialist and socialist forces who oppose them.

# INTERNATIONAL

## NAZI DEATH CAMP

During the 12 years of the Nazi reign of terror (from 1933 to 1945) 18 million people were tortured and exploited in the network of hundreds of concentration camps which covered Europe and western Asia. Eleven million Soviet citizens, Poles, Jews, communists and democrats were gassed, tortured or worked to death, hanged or shot. The camps had a twofold purpose — annihilation of any opposition to the fascist regime, and the supply of cheap sources of labour power to the German monopoly capitalists.

One of these camps was Buchenwald, in south-eastern Germany. It was opened in July 1937, constructed by the labour of the communists, socialists, trade unionists and Jews opposed to Hitler who were the first internees. In all, 250,000 prisoners passed through its gates, 55,000 being murdered there. From October 1941, Soviet prisoners of war were incarcerated at Buchenwald — 8,500 of them were murdered in cold blood by being shot in the back of the neck. Within the camp, there was a special isolation unit, the bunker: here the hangman of Buchenwald, Martin Sommer, personally tortured to death over 100 prisoners within six months. The depths of inhuman sadism were reached by the wife of the camp commandant, Ilse Koch, who selected prisoners according to whether they had interesting tattoos — she then had them killed and their skin made into lampshades.

The 'doctors' at the camp (such as Drs Plaza and Wagner) practised medi-

Krupp. When the workers could no longer work, they were sent to extermination camps — even then, the chemical firm extracted a profit from their bodies, using them in various chemical processes. IG Farben had been a substantial financial supporter of Hitler in 1933, shortly before he came to power, and now its investment paid off in a fabulous increase in profits ground out of the torture of millions — between 1932 and 1943 its profits multiplied nearly 20 times!

As the Allied armies (with the overwhelming part played by the USSR) began to defeat them, the fascists made hasty plans to destroy all traces of the existence of the camps, including the murder of all the prisoners. At Buchenwald, they were thwarted by the actions of the prisoners themselves. Despite the ruthless oppression, the representatives of the International Camps Committee (ILK), in which communists played a leading role, began to organise an insur-

mands of the US army were:

- Surrender of all weapons
- A ban on all political activity
- Disbandment of the ILK

In his memoirs Patton makes clear his reasons for refusing to support the prisoners at the moment of possible annihilation: 'My chief concern in restoring order in Germany was preventing it from falling into the hands of the Bolsheviks.'

Patton's decision anticipated what was to happen after the war had ended. US and UK governments quickly ratified on any wartime commitments to denazify Germany, and in fact placed Nazis in positions of economic and political power in post-war Germany, rather than co-operate with the Soviet Union or anti-fascist forces. Fully involved in this process was the British Labour government. During the war, the Labour leader Attlee said:

'I think it is wrong that the big businessmen of Germany who financed Hitler should escape. The group of men in the heavy industries sought to use the Nazis for their own nefarious ends. Some should be executed as an example to others. All should be deprived of their property.'

(quoted p335 Tom Bower, *Blind Eye to Murder*, Deutsch 1981. Attlee said this on 26 June 1944.)

Yet after the war, Nazis removed from the IG Farben factories in the US zone were guaranteed work by the management in the British zone; and not one of the industrialists or bankers who used death camp labour was even asked by the British to hand back their wealth. Those who profited from and organised mass murder got away scot free, as follows:

### THE PROFIT MAKERS

- of 23 IG Farben directors, 18 were acquitted; their two leading directors who made the deal with the SS for slave labour got 8 years and 6 years, and later returned as directors
- their banker, Abs, was not prosecuted and is now head of one of Germany's largest banks.
- Krupp was initially sentenced to 12 years (in an international trial, as the British initially resisted the idea of putting him on trial) and confiscation of his property. He was released after serving 5 years and his wealth restored when the Americans needed his armaments for the Korean war.

### THEIR MURDEROUS AGENTS AT BUCHENWALD

- Horst Dittrich, who on his own admission killed 38 Soviet citizens by shooting them in the back of the neck, served 10 years
- Ilse Koch got 4 years imprisonment
- Martin Sommer, eventually traced in 1950, was released from prison after four years, as being 'unfit for imprisonment'
- Dr Plaza received from the West German government removal expenses and a sum towards building a house so that he could start a medical practice
- Dr Wagner continued his practice as a doctor after the war

Faced with the choice between co-operating with the Soviet Union and democratic forces to build up a genuinely anti-fascist Germany, and rebuilding Germany with the direct assistance of former Nazis to continue the Nazi aim of defeating the Soviet Union, British and US imperialism and its Labour servants chose to protect mass murderers and slave camp profiteers.

Patrick Newman



cal experiments on the prisoners for the benefit of the giant monopoly IG Farben (chemicals), which before 1939 had close connections with ICI (UK) and Dow Chemicals (USA). New vaccines against smallpox, cholera and diphtheria were tested on prisoners infected with these diseases — 95% of them died during the course of these inhuman experiments. IG Farben also actively sought an agreement with the SS for a supply of prisoners as a source of cheap labour, as did the armaments firm of

## UNITED STATES

## JACKSON WOOS BLACK VOTE

Black civil rights leader Jesse Jackson has just announced his decision to stand for nomination as a Democratic presidential candidate. In 1984 Americans go to the polls again to choose a Republican or Democrat Party president of the USA and although he has not made his final announcement, it seems that Ronald Reagan will stand again for the Republicans.

Jesse Jackson is placed third favourite to win the support of the Democratic Party as their presidential candidate. Also running are 'old time liberal' Walter Mondale and ex-astronaut, John Glenn. Jackson, now aged 41, is one of a generation of black civil-rights activists who 20 years ago joined the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). They participated in the struggle for civil rights in the Southern States of America which was led by Reverend Martin Luther King Jnr.

The announcement that Jesse Jackson will run for Democratic Party nomination is not, of course a purely personal decision. It means that a solid caucus within the Democrats has decided that the challenge to Reagan and the Republicans must be strong this time after their poor election results at half-time in November 1982. And it means that the Democratic caucus behind Jackson is convinced that it can make solid voting gains by putting up a black man for president.

Politics is big business in the USA and expensive. It costs \$6,000 for a 20-second television spot and \$10,000 for an opinion poll. The November elections to Congress cost the candidates an estimated \$300 million.

Since the Democratic caucus supporting Jesse Jackson's bid to the White House is prepared to spend huge sums of money on his campaign, they clearly want something in return. The goods they expect Jackson to deliver are the black vote and the Hispanic vote (Puerto-Rican, Mexican and others). Jackson and the other bourgeois black politicians like Mayor Washington, newly elected boss of Chicago, cannot deliver votes for Democrats unless they persuade the black and oppressed masses to register for their voting rights.

The civil rights struggle of 20 years ago won a total victory against white supremacist state laws on elections — one man, one vote. It swung the Democratic Party of the Kennedy administration to enforce electoral rights in law. The fact remains, however, that vast sections of black and oppressed people in the ghettos of the Northern cities and in the Southern States choose to opt out of the big-business, two-party mafia of Republicans v Democrats politics. They do not vote. 47% of the population failed to vote in the election which brought the Reagan administration to power. Less than 30% of the 18-21 group voted in 1980. In the South there are 2 million unregistered blacks.

Within the Democratic Party there is a large group of professional black politicians who want these votes. The Democrats traditionally hold the allegiance of middle-class black people who poll Democrat by 9 to 1. 20 to 25% of the Democratic vote is from black people. The Joint Center for Political Studies, a black think-tank, estimates that the number of unregistered voting-age blacks in Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, North and South Carolina, Tennessee and Mississippi is greater than Reagan's total margin of victory in 1980.

And so the last year has seen the ex-civil rights activists stomping the South-

ern States and addressing the big city ghettos in a new registration drive. Jesse Jackson led his own 'Southern Crusade' for registration feeding his meetings with the call, 'There's a freedom train a comin' but you've got to be registered to ride!'. But he is not the only black politician to urge support for the Democratic Party. The NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People) and the Urban League have also been busy involved in registration drives. In Chicago they set up election registration booths in unemployment offices and it was this kind of action on the ground that resulted in the election of Mayor Washington for the Democrats.

This frenzied activity to deliver the black vote to the Democratic Party is happening at a time when poverty in the USA is reaching the worst extremes of the 1930's depression. One fifth of America's children are living in poverty, 15% of the population as a whole, 34.4 million people are plunged into hunger, near destitution and certain despair.

The Civil Rights gains of the 1960s are important because they took the lid off the stinking pot of bourgeois democracy and revealed that true democracy cannot exist alongside rampant capitalist exploitation. 20 years ago black unemployment was 10% — today it is 20% (and 50% for black teenagers). 20 years ago the difference between the average white family income and that of the black family was \$3,000. Today it is \$10,000.

Yet despite this increasing and widespread suffering of the black community, one third of whom subsist below the official poverty line, the middle class black caucus seeks to foster illusions in the party of the big business corporations, the Democratic Party. A party of unbridled imperialist violence which under President Kennedy escalated the war against the Vietnamese, Kampuchean and Cuban people. A party which has made no effective protest against the present brutal attack against the risen people of Central America under President Reagan.

Like the Labour Party in Britain can just about bring itself to mumble about alternative economic policies to Thatcher, so the Democratic Party US mumbles in opposition to Reagan's vicious welfare cuts and military budget.

Those who talk about justice and the poor but who really serve imperialist masters are the state's good servants. But they are treacherous enemies of oppressed people at home and abroad. And however much they spend on a campaign and make alliances and connive and lie, they will not deceive the masses. In the words of Ron Daniels, party National co-chair of the National Black Independent Party USA,

'People are coming to understand that the substitution of Black faces for the same old structures, in the same places, does not equal liberation for the masses of Black people'.

Susan Davidson

# THE LABOUR PARTY AND KENYA

## RACISM & SAVAGERY

In 1890 the British and German bourgeoisies agreed upon a division of East Africa: Britain should have Kenya and Uganda, Germany should have Tanganyika (Tanzania). A stream of statutes quickly made Kenyans prisoners in their own country: pass laws, curfews, and 'native reserves' revealed the nature of British capital's mission to secure for itself, cheaply, the fruits of African land and labour.

Violence was integral to the imperial task, as it is in Ireland today. An early governor, Sir A R Hardinge, explained:

'These people must learn submission by bullets, it's the only school... In Africa to have peace you must first teach obedience, and the only tutor who impresses the lesson properly is the sword.'

African resistance to the racists was fierce and often successful. Kikuyu Chief Waiyaki, conscious of the threat British colonialism posed to African land, brilliantly led his people in outmanoeuvring the British forces. Pinned down in Fort Smith, British officers, pleading for peace talks, invited Waiyaki into their quarters. Falling foul of the cornered imperialists' weapon of last resort, treachery, Waiyaki greeted the British in good faith in August 1892 only to be promptly arrested, held hostage, then shot and buried alive. It was finally the superior firepower of the Maxim machine-gun that allowed British penetration of East Africa.

The leadership of the British labour movement favoured the expropriation of African land and labour. J R MacDonald, Independent Labour MP and later the first Labour Party Prime Minister, typifies its racist response:

'The Tropics can yield much to keep the Temperate lands in comfort and to sweeten life for them, and the Temperate lands have a right to ask from the Tropics some of their desirable productions... The white nations which exploit the Tropics economically assume responsibility for the natives, and how to fulfill that responsibility is the kernel of the problem of dependency government. This responsibility, however, may be regarded from a worthier point of view than as a consequence of economic exploitation. A community may well claim that it has a duty imposed upon it to spread the blessings of its civilisation over the earth. Morality has a universal sway, and by reason of its imperium the more developed nations are brought into a position of something like a guardian and teacher of the less developed nations.' (Labour and the Empire, 1907)

In reality this meant support for Hardinge's 'lessons' and the 'blessings' of a settler economy. Propelling the process of European settlement were the British banks, particularly Barclays Bank and Standard Bank. They saw in the settlers a means of securing a large part of the wealth which harnessed African labour could produce. Between 1905 and 1915 almost 4.5 million acres of African land was confiscated and distributed cheaply among less than 5,500 settlers. Lucrative interest-bearing loans were also given to the colonial administration,

such that by 1931 a third of its revenues went on debt payments to the banks.

For the settlers, merchants and bankers to make a profit out of Kenyan maize, cotton, coffee, sisal, groundnuts and tea, traditional African peasant cultivation had to be broken up. The settler Colonel Grogan, owner of a 200,000 acre estate, put it bluntly:

'We have stolen his land. Now we must steal his limbs. Compulsory labour is the corollary of our occupation of the country.'

By confiscating African land and forcing the dispossessed into 'native reserves' an army of cheap labour was put at the settlers' disposal. However, a further ingredient was necessary to drive that labour to the plantations. Lord Delamere, 100,000 acres, informed the British government of the virtues of Hut and Poll taxes levied on each African household:

'We consider that taxation is the only possible method of compelling the native to leave his reserve for the purpose of seeking work.'

Prohibitions were placed on the right of Africans to grow certain crops or to receive credit. Apart from the use of taxes to ensure a supply of wage labour, forced labour was dragooned at gunpoint to build the infrastructure of roads, railways, buildings etc which expanded the area open to profitable plunder across Kenya.

self in the service of capital as a secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, by striving to break a solidarity strike of British workers with their Irish brothers fighting the 1913 Dublin Lockout. For Thomas and the Labour Party the potential of Africa lay in accelerated exploitation:

'I am convinced that the possibilities of development are enormous... possibilities which are undreamed of at the moment when we are all disturbed at the economic position of this country... it behoves us to look carefully at the possibilities in this direction.'

The 1924 Labour government thus approved of extending Kenyan railways to boost supplies of cheap cotton to Lancashire textile capitalists. Cabinet Minister Tom Shaw, secretary of the Northern Counties Textile Federation, said that 'The organised employers and workmen of Lancashire are at one on this matter'. It did not concern the Labour government that the railways and plantations used forced African labour. When the East African Loan Bill (1926) was debated in the Commons to allow settler expansion, an amendment was tabled to withhold such credit unless abuse of African labour was ended. Hugh (later Lord) Dalton MP led many Labour MPs and trade unionists in voting against the amendment.

Concentrated exploitation bred new forms of African organisation and resistance. In 1922 Harry Thuku formed the East African Association (EAA). Organised on a cross-tribal basis and demanding an end to land confiscation and the 'kipande', (which compelled every African male over 16 to be fingerprinted and to carry an identity card), calling for higher wages and a common electoral roll, the EAA drew crowds of supporters. Thuku's democratic and nationalist demands threatened British imperialism. His arrest in March 1922 triggered Kenya's first general strike and a spontaneous demonstration outside the prison in Nairobi where Thuku was held.

electoral roll. It had a strong contingent of urban workers and dispossessed peasants. The 1924 Labour government dispatched a Parliamentary Commission to investigate. It reported back that 'the trusteeship (of the Africans) lies upon the shoulders of every man and woman of European race in Africa'. It stood by the white 1% of the population ruling the Kenyan Legislative Council. A new governor, Sir Joseph Byrne, was appointed, formerly engaged as a senior police officer against the Irish Republican struggle. The Labour-run *Daily Herald* trumpeted its approval of a 'strong man for a tough job'.

The 1929 Labour Colonial Secretary, Lord Passfield (the Fabian Sydney Webb), refused to meet Jomo Kenyatta, the KCA representative, in London, and contemptuously dismissed the moderate reform-minded Kikuyu Association's request for some elected African representation:

'They could not rise to the constitutional issues... I have arranged to see each batch of native witnesses myself at the Colonial Office to hear their grievances. It is an important departure, though of course, more of a gesture than anything else.'

Equal cynicism was shown to the demand to end land confiscations. 'Passfield's Pledge' was added to the 1930 Native Land Trust Bill purporting to secure African land rights, giving the proviso that where land was taken 'an area equal in extent and value should be added' to the reserves. This arrangement was to be administered by the settler-run Legislative Council and was aptly remarked to be the equivalent of setting a cat to watch over the interests of a mouse. Labour Party policy was full of fine phrases about opposing 'class exploitation in Africa', but Labour practice ensured that exploitation continued unfettered.

### SECOND WORLD WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

The 1939 Labour Party Conference resolution on the colonies, passed on the eve of an imperialist war fought in the name of democracy and opposition to racism, stated that they were 'inhabited by peoples of primitive culture' and the British labour movement must 'foster native institutions and encourage self-government, and the medical and social services'. Without any mention of equal rights or an end to discrimination a free hand was conferred on settler domination to provide the metropolitan war effort with cheap food and materials. African wages were cut, forced labour re-introduced and the KCA outlawed.

The 1945-51 Labour governments viewed Africa as central to the reconstruction of British capitalism. Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin remarked:

'The other two world powers, the US and Soviet Russia, have tremendous resources. If Western Europe is to achieve its balance of payments and to get a world equilibrium, it is essential that (African) resources should be developed and made available.'

Funds were channelled through the Colonial Development Corporation, set up in 1948, to establish firms like Unilever in Kenya. The concentration of

capital in Nairobi and Mombasa accelerated, and Kenyan trade with the US and Britain expanded. Between 1945-55 Africa's contribution to Britain's sterling balances trebled and it supplied half of the gold and dollar reserves.

Sprawling shanty towns now surrounded Nairobi and Mombasa containing many migrant workers seeking escape from the hunger of the reserves. Their mobility and consciousness of inequality generated a nationalist movement in Kenya with a broad working class and poor peasant core. By 1948, the newly-formed Kenyan African Union (KAU) drew crowds of 50,000 to hear demands for an end to exploitation, freedom of assembly, the return of stolen land, and for democracy in Kenya. In 1950 the average Kenyan African wage was \$73 a year while for a white in wage labour it was \$1,739. One fifth of the land was owned by 0.7% of the population, and Africans had been crammed onto desert and semi-arid terrain. The Labour Colonial Secretary Creech-Jones was unmoved, saying that he did not want to 're-open the land controversies of the past', and that 'democratic government in the hands of ignorant and politically inexperienced people can easily become unworkable'.

From out of the anger of the urban workers came the East African Trade Union Congress (EATUC) led by the communist Makhan Singh. In March 1950 it organised a successful boycott of a British royal visit asserting that there would be no celebrations until workers fully shared in the tasks of government. The boycott was declared illegal, its organiser rounded up and Makhan Singh jailed. Kenyan workers responded with an immediate 18 day general strike. The Labour government sensed the threat to imperial rule and made massive deployment of tanks, planes and armed police across Nairobi. Hundreds of workers were arrested, the EATUC outlawed, and strikes in 13 'essential services' forbidden.

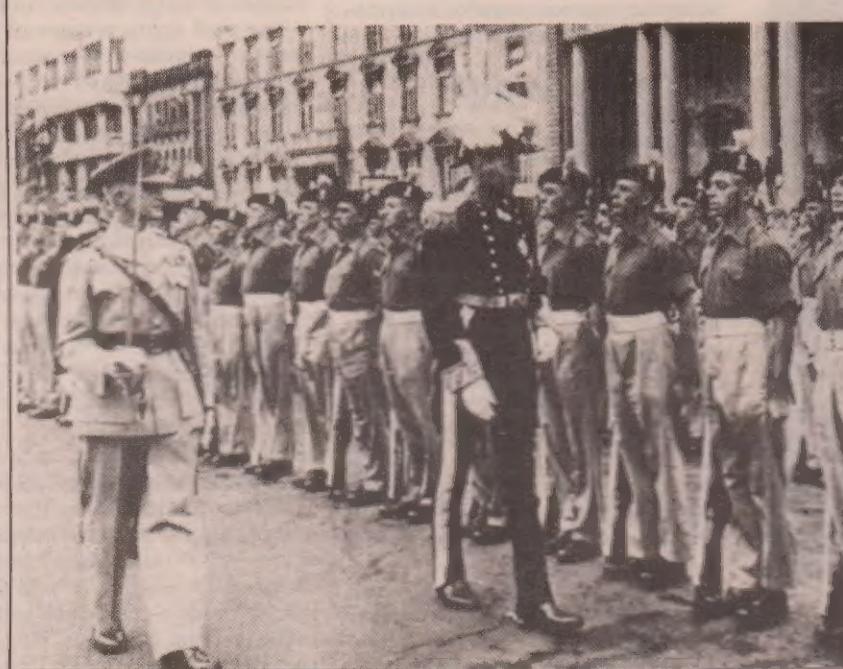
Disillusioned with attempts at peacefully persuading Labour governments, and alarmed at the entrenchment of an apartheid system in Kenya, the radical wing of the KAU, the now underground KCA, began a mass mobilisation in mid-1950, prepared to use force if necessary, to win African land and freedom.

### STATE OF EMERGENCY

On 20 October 1952, the Kenya government with Colonial Office backing introduced a state of emergency. Makhan Singh who was then in prison wrote:

'The colonialists had come to the conclusion that Kenya's national movement for freedom and independence, of which Kenya's trade union movement was an important part, had become too strong for them and was now endangering the very existence of colonial rule in Kenya. They had therefore decided to suppress and crush the movement. To implement their decision they chose to declare a state of emergency, which enabled them to rule by decree and force of arms.'

On 20-21 October over 200 leaders of the KAU, African trade unions and other organisations were arrested. The KAU was banned along with independent African schools and public meetings.



British troops shortly after the declaration of a State of Emergency

The Labour Party had seen the potential of the colonies for cushioning the impact of the capitalist crisis on the British bourgeoisie and themselves. J H Thomas, Secretary of State for the Colonies (1924) and Dominions (1929-31), had previously distinguished him-

self in the service of capital as a secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, by striving to break a solidarity strike of British workers with their Irish brothers fighting the 1913 Dublin Lockout. For Thomas and the Labour Party the potential of Africa lay in accelerated exploitation:

'I am convinced that the possibilities of development are enormous... possibilities which are undreamed of at the moment when we are all disturbed at the economic position of this country... it behoves us to look carefully at the possibilities in this direction.'

A rigid system of pass laws was introduced and the government was empowered to confiscate land, livestock, vehicles, shops and property of any African suspected of supporting the national movement. Black people could easily be expelled from their towns, villages and homes and be subjected to collective punishments. Three additional Battalions of the King's African Rifles were brought in to the Central Province and the First Battalion of Lancashire Fusiliers was flown in from Britain. Home Guard units, officered by whites and staffed by collaborators, were formed, the white settlers armed to the teeth and the police force strengthened. Soon an armed imperialist force of over 6,000 men was ready to unleash a reign of terror upon the African population.

## MAU MAU REVOLUTION

These measures were designed to terrorise the popular masses and separate them from their vanguard: the armed Mau Mau Land and Freedom Army which was growing in influence and preparing to launch armed struggle.

The broad popular base of the Mau Mau was affirmed by the Commander in Chief of the British Armed Forces in Kenya, General Sir George Erskine:

'When I assumed command, there were several thousand terrorists (sic) under command backed by the moral support of over 90% of the tribe.'

Mau Mau was primarily the armed political organisation of the Kenyan peasantry and working class. Imbued with a deep hatred for imperialism it fought to destroy colonialism and settler power and return the land stolen from the masses to its rightful owners. Its political programme is encapsulated in a song by the people:

'We shall never, never give up  
Without land on which to grow food,  
And without our own true freedom  
In our country of Kenya.'

As a popular revolutionary movement of workers and peasants, the Mau Mau was uncompromisingly opposed to the African loyalists and collaborators. Declaring war on these elements, the Mau Mau supporters sang:

'We must continuously increase  
Our militant vigilance  
And intensify our battle  
Against these mercenaries and  
traitors  
Wiping them out one by one  
mercilessly.'

Dedan Kimathi, the outstanding Mau Mau leader, expressed the anti-imperialist and anti-bourgeois popular class character of the organisation as follows:

'...there is no Mau Mau, but the poor man is the Mau Mau, and if so it is only Mau Mau which can finish Mau Mau, not bombs and other weapons.'

After 20 October, the Mau Mau organisers moved into the Mount Kenya and Aberdare forests and launched four years of heroic armed struggle. In all towns, villages and rural areas, underground committees supplied the guerrillas with recruits, food, money, medical supplies and information. The efficient Mau Mau intelligence network consisted of African workers employed in Kikuyu clubs, as mess waiters, telephone and dispatch clerks, domestic servants and government employees.

It was this movement that British imperialism set out to destroy and in this task it was fully supported by the Labour Party, then in opposition.

## LABOUR BACKS WAR AGAINST MAU MAU

On the opening of the State of Emergency, James Griffiths, the Labour Party spokesman declared:

'...from the beginning we have given the Government our fullest support in any steps that are required to suppress Mau Mau.'

He even tabled a motion supporting:

'...all lawful action which is necessary to suppress violence and crime to



Mau Mau suspects awaiting 'screening'

eliminate Mau Mau and restore peace and order in the country.'

Throughout the war, the Labour Party took on the role of advisor and councilor warning that some government actions and the 'excesses' of its forces in Kenya:

'...will have the effect of creating in Kenya a whole people who will be resentfully against us in the future.'

What worried the Labour Party was not the violence and barbarism of British imperialism, it was fear of, in Griffiths' words:

'...the danger of driving all the Kikuyu people into the hands of the Mau Mau.'

So the Labour Party, evoking the spectre of communism, advised the government not to alienate the growing African bourgeois political forces. They were needed to control the peasants and workers and defend the interests of British imperialism. Griffiths declared that:

'It was of the utmost importance that there should be... a responsible political organisation to which the Africans can look for leadership.'

And Fenner Brockway, a left-winger (!!) who thought the Mau Mau 'an ugly and brutal form of extreme nationalism', urged the government to:

'...accept the offers of African leaders to take their part in the campaign against the Mau Mau.'

## MASS TERROR, MASS MURDER - KENYA BECOMES A CONCENTRATION CAMP

'Undisguised savagery and lawless revenge' was the law and the order of British rule that Labour sought to maintain in Kenya. Within a year the land became a vast concentration camp. By October 1953 over 138,000 Africans had been arrested, 1,300 murdered and the African districts of the major towns encircled by wire. More than 100,000 'squatters' and unemployed workers from the Rift Valley and Nairobi were expelled to the barren and overcrowded 'Reserves' having had 1,000 cattle, 10,000 sheep and other property confiscated.

Any defiance, resistance or support for Mau Mau was met with terror. In November 1952, a 2,000-strong illegal public meeting was fired upon leaving 17 dead and 25 injured. Fenner Brockway could not refrain from expressing his 'very great sense of sympathy' for the 3 British officers responsible. A group of women in a petition to the Queen wrote:

'The Police, while patrolling the Native Reserves, constantly commit

rape on us, even though some of us are pregnant or have just given birth.'

In the war against the freedom fighters, the British forces burnt down homes and whole villages 'to deny shelter to the outlaw gangs' and captured suspects were subjected to the most horrifying tortures, their torturers getting off scot free or with insignificant sentences. Police Officers Keats and Rubens were fined for beating an African to death. Police Officer Sawyer was fined for torturing an African prisoner over a slow fire!

Some of the worst horrors of British rule were reserved for the over 70,000 prisoners in 39 concentration camps across the country. Overcrowded, rife with disease, lacking sanitary and medical facilities, prisoners were systematically overworked and starved. Beatings, chaining, reduction of rations, solitary confinement in dark cells were all 'legal' punishments. By 1954 over 350 POWs had been murdered and the total number killed may never be known. Mau Mau POWs, like their Irish comrades today, fought the prison system. In 1959, in the Hola camp, reserved for the most indomitable fighters, 11 POWs were beaten to death for refusing to do prison work. A public inquiry in Britain exonerated the killers because it could not determine which blow of the stave caused the killing, the other blows being deemed legitimate use of force.

While the population and prisoners were being terrorised, the British army

or detention of many freedom fighters. In October 1956 Dedan Kimathi was captured and executed and a heroic and courageous chapter in the Kenyan peasants' and workers' struggles wound to an end before the immensely superior forces of British imperialism. More than 30,000 people were murdered, 1,065 judicially murdered, 100,000s uprooted and a whole generation experienced the vile barbarism of British democracy.

Having defeated the popular revolutionary forces of the Mau Mau, British imperialism created the conditions for the emergence of black bourgeois political forces ready to suppress Kenya's workers and peasants and serve imperialism. When Jomo Kenyatta was released from detention in 1959, he took over the leadership of the Kenya African National Union (KANU). Even before independence in 1963, KANU acted the role created for it by suppressing a Mau Mau revival in the 1960s known as the Kiama Kia Mwingi - a movement of peasants fighting to seize land from white settlers. In the trade unions, British imperialism, relying on the Labour Party, cultivated bourgeois leaders such as Tom Mboya who went to Ruskin with British trade union money. Mboya emptied the unions of any revolutionary content and tried to isolate African workers from the national liberation struggle. Revolutionary trade union leaders detained in 1952 found no place for themselves in the unions of the 1960s.



Mau Mau suspects detained at a Home Guard Post - concentration camp

bombed the Aberdare and Mount Kenya forests. Frank Kitson, notorious for his later role in Ireland, was employed to gather intelligence. He developed a network of counter-gangs pretending to be freedom fighters which resulted in the capture, murder, torture

Meanwhile increasing numbers of African petit bourgeois were recruited to well paying jobs in government and private companies, while under the Swynnerton Plan land ownership was desegregated to allow wealthier Africans to become capitalist farmers.

KANU became the political expression of this nascent African bourgeoisie, dependent on imperialism, ready to defend its interests and oppose the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggle of the masses. Just before independence Kenyatta reassured imperialism:

'The government of an independent Kenya will not be a gangster government. Those who have been panicky about their property - whether land or buildings or houses - can now rest assured that the future African government will not deprive them of their property or their rights of ownership.'

## NEO-COLONIAL KENYA

Governor General Malcolm MacDonald, son of James Ramsay, conducted formal independence celebrations in December 1963. As Colonial Secretary in 1939 he had envisaged the strategy to be followed:

'If a few sensible Africans could be nominated in the course of time to places of responsibility in which they can constitutionally represent African interests, it might help to divert the expression of political feelings.'

With the accompaniment of brutal force the job had been successful: 87% of the independence government came from professional, academic or business occupational groups. The 'burning spear' Kenyatta became the iron rod with which to beat African workers. The 1966 Preservation of Public Security Act, suggested by MacDonald, re-instituted powers of detention and restriction of movement. Kenyan troops were SAS-trained and in 1964 British soldiers put down a Kenyan military mutiny. Radical opposition to the comprador bourgeoisie's rule has been hunted down, jailed and killed to this day. Current President Moi, who served in the British administration during the Mau Mau Rising, now has Israeli commandos and the US Rapid Deployment Force joining British troops in holding Kenya as a field for exploitation by transnational like Brooke Bond, Del Monte and Lonrho.

Over 40% of Kenyan manufacture is foreign-owned; local capital is controlled through indebtedness to metropolitan banks. By 1970 4% of firms operating in Kenya owned half the land. Once again Africa is being made to bear the burden of the capitalist crisis: crop export prices are held down while prices of manufactured imports are inflated. Four times as much Kenyan tea must be exported to buy a tractor as a decade ago. Kenyan unemployment exceeds 30%; shoe-shine boys crowd the pavements as the corrupt elite cruise by in Mercedes squandering the surplus wealth they retain.

Imperialism manages the reserve army of labour in the oppressed nations and in the metropolis. By 1968 British capital had no need of additional Commonwealth supplies as it now generated its own unemployment. When Kenya's rulers began to expel British passport-holding Asians the Labour government swiftly passed the 1968 Commonwealth Immigration Act, effectively removing the right of Kenyan Asians to enter Britain. Labour Minister David Ennals explained:

'We are determined to avoid the situation that has developed in the US, where patterns of prejudice and discrimination have created an underprivileged indigenous minority, many of whom react violently against what they conceive to be second-class citizenship...!'

Labour's record in Kenya shows that it is not discrimination that it abhors, it always discriminated in favour of capital, but the revolt of the oppressed. Kenyan workers and students took to the streets in August 1982, resurrecting the suppressed Mau Mau slogans. 2,000 were murdered, hundreds jailed, but beneath Kenya's ugly surface surge the currents that will rise up and haul down the last edifices of British imperialism in Kenya.

Trevor Rayne  
Eddie Abrahams

# R ~ E ~ V ~ I ~ E ~ W ~ S

Despite Kollontai's occasional deviations from a communist stand, her commitment to revolutionary struggle and to the struggle against women's oppression in particular, cannot be doubted and continued unabated until her death in 1952 at the age of 80. Kollontai's contribution to revolutionary work took several forms. As a very popular and capable speaker and agitator she was frequently sent on speaking tours both within Russia and internationally. It is a measure of her dedication and of her capacity for sheer hard work to note that on an Anti-War speaking tour of the US in 1916, she addressed no less than 123 meetings, in 4 languages, in 80 towns across America in a period of 4½ months. She wrote many pamphlets, books and articles, mainly raising the question of women's oppression but also dealing with more general questions of revolutionary struggle. Her pamphlet *Who Needs War?* for example was a communist analysis of the First World War which attempted to show to soldiers that their real enemy was not the soldiers of another nation but their own ruling class masters who sent them to war. It was very popular, being read by several million German and Russian soldiers and it elicited much response in the form of letters to the Bolshevik foreign bureau. As a writer, speaker and organiser, Kollontai won wide support for communism from working women, from youth, with whom she was very popular, and crucially, among soldiers and sailors. In the years after the revolution she scored many important successes in her work as a Soviet diplomat and ambassador in Norway, Mexico and Sweden and finally as an adviser to the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Cathy Porter's biography provides not only a wealth of detail about Kollontai's life but also about the events leading up to, throughout and following the Bolshevik revolution. Porter is not a communist and she is therefore unable to provide a communist interpretation of events and people's response to them. Instead she explains developments in terms of psychology and personal characteristics and she catalogues events, facts and details. Nevertheless, she provides some very interesting material on Kollontai, on the revolution and especially on the struggles of women.

By her own exceptional example of revolutionary work and sacrifice, Kollontai gave a powerful lead to the political struggle for women's equality. However, the fight for women's freedom and the revolutionary struggle as a whole demanded more than this, and it was to this end that Kollontai fought throughout her political life for a communist approach to the struggle against women's oppression and for political work aimed specifically at drawing women to communism.



Alexandra Kollontai

The position of working class and peasant women in pre-revolutionary Russia could hardly have been worse. All women and working class men were denied basic political rights. The lives of the peasantry and working class, men, women and children, were brutalised under the rule of the arch-imperialist Tsar. Poverty, unemployment, appalling working conditions and the denial of basic democratic rights were the daily lot of the Russian and other oppressed peoples under Tsarism. For women the picture was even worse. Increasing numbers of women were being drawn to the cities to fuel the labour needs of the factory owners. This was especially the case after the 1905 Revolution when employers preferred to employ women, at cheaper rates and because they were considered to be more docile than men. The majority of women remained tied to the land where the position of peasant women had changed little in hundreds of years. Despite sharing with men all the heavy labouring on the land, and being wholly responsible for domestic work and childcare:

'A woman had no voice in the peasant assembly, in which she was forbidden to sit even if she was a widow or head of a household. Nor did she have any rights of inheritance, or any say in her family's finances; the only property she was allowed to own was her trousseau and certain small domestic utensils... The male head of the household was regarded as an agent of imperial power with full authority over his wife, children and dependents; he was to prove his love for his wife by beating her regularly and in a church manual which appeared at the time there were panegyrics to the rod, which was to hang over the bed in every well-ordered household.'

## Alexandra Kollontai



1st All Russian Congress of Working Women and Peasant Women 1918

Alexandra Kollontai – a biography. Cathy Porter. Published by Virago.

Price £5.50

Alexandra Kollontai was a dedicated and tireless Russian revolutionary fighter who played an important part in the leadership of the 1917 Bolshevik revolution. She was the only woman in the Bolshevik Government of 1917, in which she held the post of Commissar of Social Welfare.

...For the young wife, this extended (peasant AS) family brought its own tragedies, for she frequently had to undergo the horrifying ritual of sleeping with her father-in-law... Peasant women's toiling lives – darkened by miscarriages, post-natal complications and an appalling child mortality rate, all of which were so common as to be barely spoken about – brought them neither social status nor economic reward.'

Women in the cities were no better off. Dangerous and unhealthy working conditions pushed up the rates of miscarriages, and still-births and resulted in injury, ill-health and premature death for many women. Maternity and childcare provision were practically non-existent forcing many women to return to their workbenches hours after childbirth and to leave infants either alone or in the care of other children. Many working women were forced to join the thousands trying to survive through prostitution, while domestic servants were simply kicked out onto the streets when their rapacious masters got them pregnant.

Following the 1905 revolution women played an increasingly militant role in the strikes which were taking place and strike documents of the period invariably included demands for paid maternity leave, time off for breast-feeding and factory creches. The Union of Women's Equality was set up and attempted to 'unite' middle class and working class women, mistresses and maids, in an all-class organisation calling for reforms in legislation to promote women's equality in education and land-ownership, for freer divorce and legitimacy laws and other more general demands.

It was in response to these developments – the rise in militancy of the downtrodden working class and peasant women and the corresponding emergence of a growing reformist/feminist trend attempting to lead women away from the revolutionary struggle alongside their working class brothers – that Kollontai began to heckle at feminist meetings and to publicly argue the communist position on women.

The dual oppression of women – as workers exploited for their cheaper labour power and as women denied basic democratic rights on the basis of sex – derives from class society. The sexual division of labour ensures that women take on much of the responsibility for the welfare of the working-class, within the family, at no cost to the state, that they form a reserve army of labour and that bourgeois rule is strengthened by divisions in the working class. It is not men but class society which is the source of women's oppression. It follows from this that it is the state and capitalism which must be opposed if the fight for real equality for women is to be taken forward. The notion that bourgeois women and working-class women share a common struggle in fact reinforces the division between men and women workers and serves to hold back the struggle for women's liberation. The other side of the coin is that no revolutionary movement can afford to ignore the question of women's oppression as it must seek to gain the widest possible support of working class women. The interests of the working class as a whole, men and women, are served only when women's oppression is raised and raised from a class standpoint.

Kollontai fought long and often isolated battles both within the Bolshevik Party and in the wider struggle to gain women's support for communism. The suspicion generated by anything which smacked of 'feminism' resulted in a backward attitude towards issues of women's oppression and Kollontai had an uphill struggle to have party resources put to this work. Kollontai gained a great deal from her early connection with the German women's movement and in particular from the work of Clara Zetkin, and her work gained the support of many working class and peasant women who were joining the ranks of the Bolshevik Party. As more women were drawn into industry their active participation in workers' struggles grew. Some strikes were organised around issues specifically relating to women's needs such as for child-care facilities in factories and for maternity leave. In 1913 a women's page was introduced into the Bolshevik paper *Pravda*. It proved to be extremely popular and in 1914 a special paper *Rabotnitsa* (Woman Worker) was started, though suspen-



Russia: a bread queue 1917

ded during the war. The focus of Kollontai's work during the war and up to the Bolshevik revolution was in agitating for revolution both in Russia and abroad. She continued to press for special propaganda and organisational structures with which to draw women to the Bolshevik's stance. 1917 saw an enormous upsurge in women's participation and frequently leading role in food riots, political strikes and demonstrations.

The reactionary nature of the 'all-class' feminists was clearly revealed when during the war they organised demonstrations of patriotic fervour for the Russian ruling class. Working class women, led by Kollontai, opposed their patriotic stance. The soldatki (mothers, wives and daughters of soldiers) stormed onto the streets to demand an end to their degradation and poverty. As the 1917 revolution gained pace, women flowed out of factories, mills, restaurants and Petrograd's 'steamy, squalid subterranean laundries'. Driven beyond endurance by intolerable living standards, dangerous and insanitary working conditions, long hours, starvation wages and food shortages they were confronting armed soldiers and seizing their guns.

Alexandra Kollontai was the only woman involved in the historic Bolshevik Central Committee meetings which gave the signal for full armed insurrection in October 1917. Women fought heroic battles alongside working class men during October and in the bloody years defending the revolution. Within days of the successful insurrection, Kollontai had begun work as Commissar for Social Welfare. Despite sabotage and war she got straight to work trying to solve, with pitiful resources, some of the monumental welfare problems of a people devastated by years of war and poverty.

Lenin began the work of constructing Soviet socialism with a call to Governments to negotiate peace with the Bolsheviks. This was quickly followed by a Land Decree which abolished private ownership of land. The strength of the revolution's many and determined enemies put enormous pressure on the revolutionary government to rush through new legislation. Among the new laws passed in those first few weeks were laws making divorce easily obtainable by anyone, marriage a simple civil ceremony and illegitimacy no longer a legal category.

In 1919 a Bolshevik party Women's Department was formed – the Zhenotdel. Kollontai worked with the Zhenotdel from its formation and was appointed director in 1920. The Zhenotdel organised exhibitions, lectures, poster displays for working women and prostitutes and took its revolutionary message to remote regions where Zhenotdel clubs and activities thrived. Zhenotdel organisers travelled widely and braved the hostility of backward-thinking males in order to meet with peasant women. The Zhenotdel club in Baku had a membership running to thousands for example. This is all the more commendable when considering the hostile response of many Muslim men in the East, to progress made by the women. Women were set upon by men with wild dogs and boiling water as they emerged from the Baku women's club. These serious, though temporary problems, did not deter women from political organisation and many worked with the Zhenotdel or moved to the cities to study.

Kollontai continued to write and lecture after the revolution and she presented papers and gave speeches at the increasing numbers of women's congresses. It was at this time that she began to raise, more and more, her ideas on communist morality and on changing family and sexual relations. Many of her ideas were welcomed by the youth in particular though at a later stage they caused much controversy.

Cathy Porter, in dealing with the events of Kollontai's long and productive life, is unable to deal in depth with many of her ideas. The reader wishing to understand Kollontai's theoretical work would be better advised to read Kollontai's own writings. The main merit of Porter's biography is in the description of events. There are many interesting political lessons throughout the book but these are rarely drawn out by Porter. For example, there are descriptions of the opportunist behaviour of members of the German SPD which could just as easily be descriptions of British Left manoeuvres today. Other interesting and remarkable detail emerges about the composition and development of the Bolshevik Party:

'There were plenty of other twelve-year-old boys and girls, more neglected and angry, or perhaps less privileged, who were slipping into revolutionary meetings, throwing rocks at policemen, joining schoolchildren's 'cells', generally living the life of the streets and looking up to their 'elders' – fifteen-year-olds like Nikolay Bukharin and Ilya Ehrenburg, who played such an important part in the underground Bolshevik Party; (Indeed, it was discovered shortly after the 1917 revolution that something like a third of the Bolshevik central committee had joined in 1905 at the age of fifteen.)'

Porter, in describing Kollontai's personal life, shows us something of the enormous personal sacrifice made by many revolutionaries and especially women revolutionaries. Kollontai's decision to leave her young child to pursue revolutionary work was no easy option and was a source of considerable personal anguish. Her revolutionary zeal and courage saw her triumph over debilitating heart disease and other illness for most of her adult life and we cannot help but join with Porter in saluting her enormous revolutionary will and determination.

Alison Scott

# INTERNATIONAL

Sri Lanka

## TAMILS TERRORISED

On 24 July a bloody racist pogrom was unleashed against the Tamil people of Sri Lanka, resulting in the murder of over 2,000 people. From the Sri Lankan capital Colombo, to the provincial towns of Kandy, Trincomalee, Matale, Nuwara Eliya and Badulla and to rural village areas, Tamil houses, shops and property were systematically burnt and looted by Sinhalese gangs displaying a rabid chauvinism and hatred of the Tamil people. In many areas the reactionary anti-Tamil government of President Jayewardene orchestrated the massacres by supplying the gangs with voting lists detailing Tamil houses. In the northern Jaffna area, more than 1,000 Tamils were killed by the Sinhalese-dominated army. On 25 and 27 July, in Colombo's Welikada Prison, Sinhalese inmates aided by the prison administration, slaughtered 53 Tamil political prisoners and detainees.

This latest attack on the Tamil people has been presented in the British media as a reaction to the killing of 13 Sri Lankan soldiers by Tamil liberation fighters on 23 July. Yet the Tamil people have been subjected to atrocities and massacres for the past four decades. The roots of their subjugation lie in the legacy of British imperialist rule in Sri Lanka.

Until the coming of British rule, the Tamils of Sri Lanka always had a home-land in the northern and eastern provinces of the island, separate from the majority Sinhalese population who live mainly in the southern and central regions. But the separate Tamil and Sinhalese nations came to an end when Britain seized the island in the early nineteenth century, and brought both communities under a single colonial

administration. The British laid the basis for the racial divisions that exist in the Sri Lankan working class and peasantry today by pursuing their classic strategy of divide and rule. The British deliberately recruited Tamils into their police and administration to stall any movement for independence or rebellion by the Sinhalese community. Meanwhile the British owned plantation companies made vast fortunes on the coffee (later tea) and rubber plantations they had created. To work on the plantations hundreds of thousands of Tamil labourers were brought to Sri Lanka from southern India to be savagely exploited. Today, the 1.8 million 'Lanka' Tamils and 1.2 million 'Indian' Tamils constitute 20% of the Sri Lanka population.

When the British left Sri Lanka after

the end of the Second World War, power was handed to a servile and docile bourgeois class of Sri Lankans who would keep the island safe for imperialist interests. The new Sinhalese-dominated government immediately began to foster chauvinism and racism against the Tamil working class and peasantry. The Tamil plantation workers had their rights of citizenship removed, and the government made a series of moves to impose the Sinhala language on the Tamils, who were consequently totally discriminated against in employment and education. Tamils, up to the present day, have been removed from their lands to be replaced by Sinhalese in Zionist-style 'settlement programmes'. The poisonous racism whipped up by the Sinhalese bourgeoisie led to the first major anti-Tamil pogrom in 1958.



Ever-growing repression against the Tamils led to the rise of a popular Tamil nationalist movement demanding self-determination and a separate state for the Tamils - Tamil Eelam. Today this desire for freedom is led by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam who are waging an armed struggle against the repression carried out by the Sri Lankan army in Tamil areas. In July Amnesty International released a report detailing the terror tactics of the army against the Tamils, particularly in the Jaffna area where they had rampaged - raping Tamil women and burning houses. The Sri Lankan Prevention of Terrorism Act allows for 18 months detention without trial, and unchecked powers of interrogation and torture against Tamil detainees. In June 1983, the government brought in a further repressive measure - Emergency Regulation 15a, which allows the security forces to bury or cre-

mate the bodies of people shot by them without revealing their identities or carrying out inquests.

The latest genocidal attacks on the Tamil people are being used by the Jayewardene government to inflict further blows against the Tamil national movement. A constitutional amendment has been passed banning all separatist parties, including the Tamil United Liberation Front, a moderate bourgeois political movement who have 16 MPs in the Sri Lankan parliament. In addition, huge amounts of Tamil property have been expropriated by the Sinhalese bourgeoisie, after being declared 'riot-damaged' under British-devised legislation.

Significantly, the Jayewardene regime have also used the recent events as a pretext for crushing the whole of the Sri



Lankan working class and progressive movement. The JVP (Janatha Vimukti Peramuna - People's Liberation Front), Sri Lanka Communist Party and the Trotskyist NSSP (New Equal Society Party) have all been banned and many of their leaders imprisoned. The JVP had been prominent in the uprising of 1971 against the Sri Lankan ruling class, who massacred almost 50,000 workers and peasants to crush that challenge to its rule.

As thousands of Tamil refugees flee north, the ranks of the Tamil liberation forces will surely swell as the people will be forced to defend themselves against further state racist terrorism. The Tamil people's demand for freedom and self-determination must be upheld and fully supported by all communist and anti-imperialist forces world-wide.

Bill Hughes

## Hunger Strike in Turkey

As the third anniversary of the fascist military coup in Turkey approaches, thousands of political prisoners and detainees have mounted a hunger strike against the continuing torture and barbaric conditions they are subjected to.

The hunger strike was started by 2,500 political prisoners in several Istanbul and Ankara prisons in early July. Many of the 100,000 political prisoners in Turkey have been held for over 2½ years without trial, as the fascist military junta (with full support from Britain, the US and NATO) has moved to crush all the communist, democratic and progressive organisations of the Turkish working class. The military has commenced a huge series of political show trials in which over 5,500 death sentences have been demanded. 43 Turkish revolutionaries have already been executed and hundreds more have been tortured to death.

The hunger strike was started as a protest against the terrible conditions in the Turkish military prisons. Prisoners have been denied all rights, including those of exercise and access to lawyers. Many prisoners have been shackled in chains 24 hours a day, kept in solitary confinement for long periods and con-

stantly tortured with electric shocks, beating on the soles of the feet, rape and psychological torture.

As the strike entered its fourth week, it was reported that two political prisoners had died and more than forty were in comas. The solid and brave resistance of the prisoners has led the regime to use bestial measures to end the hunger strike. In Istanbul, police and soldiers have forced prisoners to start eating by injections and more torture. In Metris gaol in Istanbul, relatives of the prisoners have heard loud cries and screams from inside. Relatives themselves have been arrested, beaten and tortured for seeking information about the prisoners.

As the hunger strikes in Istanbul ended, a further 1,200 political prisoners in Erzurum gaol went on hunger strike, in a further act of resistance against fascist terror.

Bill Hughes

## IN BRIEF

### ● Chile

On the eve of a decade of Pinochet's rule, the Chilean working class is showing greater resistance. 11 August saw demonstrations where workers struck in large numbers, shanty town dwellers took to the streets, police and set up barricades of burning tyres, and others expressed their solidarity by banging pans. Pinochet tried to forestall the protest by including civilians in his cabinet, and by drafting 18,000 troops into the capital Santiago. 24 people were shot dead, including many children of the shanty towns, and 1,600 were arrested as the demonstrations were brutally repressed.

For ten years since the 11 September 1973 coup the Chilean people have lived in fear and without rights. Nearly 3 million people live in shanty towns while luxury homes are left empty. The privatisation of health has meant the deterioration of health care, the incidence of typhoid has leapt from 3,688 cases in 1973 to over 10,000 by 1977. Unemployment stands at 30%. Many of the unemployed are forced to work under the regime's Programme of Minimum Employment (MEP), where people are employed for three months at a time for a mere 2,000 pesos (£30) a month. The constitution gives Pinochet unlimited powers to 1990 and bans all political activity, and allows for internal exile or expulsion from Chile.

This is the kind of freedom which the Reagan and Thatcher governments are building their war machines to defend. However, the repression, fear and murder have not deterred the Chilean masses from fighting back. In May, June, July and August they have staged protests which have shaken the state, and which point forward to smashing the imperialist-backed state forever!

### ● Polisario on the offensive!

In the Western Sahara, forces of the Polisario Front have launched a powerful military offensive against the Moroccan army of occupation. Morocco, backed by the Western Imperialist nations as a caretaker of their economic and strategic interests in the region, has continually refused to allow the Saharan people their right to self-determination and freedom.

On 10 July 2,500 Polisario guerillas mounted an assault on the Moroccan garrison at Le Mseyed, after subjecting the defenders to a colossal bombardment. For over two weeks the offensive continued at Maghdar Soltane, Foj-Rih and other points on the Moroccan defensive line. More than 300 Moroccan soldiers were killed and over 100 enemy tanks, jeeps, armoured cars and lorries were also destroyed. In a statement Polisario explained that the offensive would counter the "...intransigence of the Moroccan regime which refuses the road to peace, believing in a so-called military victory after receiving sophisticated support in logistics from its protectors in the last two years."

In recent months King Hassan of Morocco has come under pressure from the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to hold a referendum in the Western Sahara. Hassan, however, has arrogantly boasted that even if a referendum result went against Morocco and for Polisario, he would never hand over the Western Sahara 'on a golden platter to a rabble of mercenaries'.

Polisario have therefore every justification to continue their armed struggle, whose progress is the spearhead of their struggle for freedom and democracy.

### ● East Timor - Indonesian atrocities exposed

The horrifying reality of the illegal Indonesian occupation of East Timor has recently again been revealed. FRETILIN, the East Timorese liberation movement which has heroically resisted the imperialist-backed Indonesian invasion, have captured an Indonesian military manual which permits the use of torture against freedom fighters and political prisoners. In a crude attempt to cover this up, the manual recommends that photographs should not be taken when prisoners are given electric shocks and stripped naked.

The manual admits that the peoples' resistance led by FRETILIN has not been crushed, and thus instructs Indonesian soldiers to attack and torture unarmed civilians and villagers suspected of supporting FRETILIN. In short, the Indonesian military is given the go-ahead relentlessly to continue their genocidal terrorism against the East Timorese which has led to the deaths of more than 250,000 people since 1975. These deaths have gone almost unreported in the Western media - which is not surprising as it is Britain and the US who have armed, and continue to arm, the Indonesian killing machine.

## Philippines

## Acquino murdered

In FRFI 30 we wrote of the Philippines that, 'Already some observers see the country as posing the next major challenge to US imperialism, following on from the revolutionary storms sweeping Central America.' Without a doubt, the murder at Manila Airport on 21 August of Benigno Acquino, leader of the United National Democratic Organisation (UNIDO), and most prominent of the old style opposition leaders brings this closer.

Ample evidence exists to show that the Marcos regime was responsible for the murder of Acquino. Security at the airport was in the hands of General Fabian Ver, Chief of Staff and Head of Military Intelligence, well known for his ruthlessness and efficiency. The killer would not only have to have been able to penetrate the tight airport security and take up position on the tarmac, he would also have had to have known that, although Acquino was booked on a later flight in his own name, he was arriving earlier booked under the name of Marcial Bonifacio, and that he was leaving the plane by an unusual exit. A Japanese journalist, Kiyoshi Wakamiya, described the scene of 'organised and premeditated murder', saying,

'I saw from inside the plane that two of the three officers who took him out, pulled out handguns and shot at Mr Acquino's head from a close range within one metre.'

He also described how Rolando Vizcarra, a former member of the Presidential Guard named by the Marcos regime as the assassin, was pushed from a van near the plane and himself shot by the same soldiers.

This brutal murder is a sign of Marcos's growing desperation. Representing one of the established families that for long ran the Philippines to suit themselves, Acquino was quite frank as to why he was returning. Two weeks previously he told *Newsweek*,

'The real reason I want to go home is to be able to talk to Marcos. If we wait too long, I am afraid the non-violent solution will be bypassed by history. Time is running out. I dread a



revolutionary confrontation. Communist-inspired guerillas already have battlefronts in over 70 per cent of Philippine provinces and enjoy substantial sympathy from most rural sectors including rank and file Catholic priests.'

In his last interview - on the plane to Manila - he said the Philippines was headed, 'down the road of an El Salvador.' The death of Acquino removes one of the few possible blocks on that road. One opposition leader said, 'We, the peaceful opposition are rapidly becoming obsolete. The young are deserting us. We hoped with Acquino we could get them back.'

The future of the Philippines belongs to the Communist Party and the New People's Army. In the words of the leader of the Philippino Democratic Party, 'We make speeches. The guerillas put their lives on the line. Which one would you choose?'

Keith Anderson

# The framing of John McComb

As we reported in FRFI 30, on Wednesday 25 May Irish nationalist John McComb was convicted of conspiracy to cause explosions between April 1978 and February 1979 and sentenced to 17 years in prison. The trial of John McComb was typical of the judicial frame-ups mounted against Irish nationalists.

## AN AMAZING DISCOVERY

The crucial evidence against John McComb was the presence of his fingerprints on certain documents – innocuous in themselves – which were ‘found’ on 26 August 1980 at 144 Trafalgar Road, London. The documents were ‘found’ under the floorboards alongside an Armalite rifle, a shotgun, ammunition, sufficient explosives to blow up the entire block, 72 detonators (some of which were home-made), a tape, allegedly of an ‘IRA hit-list’, and various maps and documents. This haul was ‘discovered’ by the tenants who, whilst re-decorating, noticed that a floorboard had been sawn through. They lifted it up and ‘found’ the gear.

17 months later, on 24 January 1982, John McComb was arrested. The ‘find’ at 144 Trafalgar Road was central to sending him to prison for 17 years. Yet 144 Trafalgar Road had been searched for three days in February 1979 – 18 months before the ‘discovery’ – by the Anti-Terrorist Squad (ATS).

In February 1979 Helen Griffiths, who then occupied 144 Trafalgar Road, went to the police to say that her boyfriend fitted the description of Gerry Tuite who the police had named as responsible for recent IRA military attacks in Britain. The ATS, therefore, carried out a 3 day search of the flat. The

‘expert’ ‘highly-trained’ ATS officers failed to find the weaponry and explosives under the floorboards. Yet they found traces of explosives in the flat.

In McComb’s trial, pressed to explain this – literally – incredible incompetence, the police came up with various explanations. Their first explosives detector failed because the battery did not work. The second failed because it was ‘too cold’. Yet the flat was heated. But why did they not look under the floorboards? One officer said that they moved some furniture but did not lift the carpets. Another said that they did lift the carpets but did not move any furniture. This was not the only ‘uncertainty’ in the police account.

The ATS has specially-trained ‘sniffer’ dogs to unearth explosives. But they did not use sniffer dogs. Or did they? During the trial of Gerry Tuite in Dublin in 1982, one officer said that they had used sniffer dogs. However, he retracted this after the Judge told him that he was mistaken. At McComb’s trial the police had made up their minds about this and denied outright that dogs had been used. Perhaps they have difficulty distinguishing between dogs and ATS officers?

This nonsensical police story is not the only indication that the ‘discovery’ at 144 Trafalgar Road was not what it seemed. The tape, supposedly ‘found’

in August 1980, had a reference to an ‘IRA base’ in the Norfolk Broads. Yet the police had questioned others in 1979 about a Norfolk Broads ‘base’. So they were asking questions about information from a tape at least 8 months before ‘finding’ that tape. The ATS are clearly gifted with extra-sensory perception even if their other senses are somewhat deficient.

When the police went into Trafalgar Road in August 1980, they also ‘found’ nitro-glycerine-impregnated wrappers lying on a shelf in the toilet. This time they used dogs. The dogs immediately detected the smell of these wrappers. The officer who removed them claimed that the furnaces were so offensive that he had to put them in a plastic bag to avoid getting a nitro-glycerine headache. Yet the tenants never noticed these wrappers. And, when the ATS was in the flat for 3 days in February 1979, they must have used the toilet. But they did not notice these wrappers either.

## ANOTHER AMAZING DISCOVERY

One week before John McComb’s trial began on 9 May 1983, the police – in an orchestrated fanfare of publicity – ‘found’ 10lbs of nitro-glycerine and other explosives under the floorboards in a flat at 1 North Road, Highgate, London. Police officers, smiling for the cameras, removed this dangerous material in a cardboard box, without any protective gear, and placed it, without any precautions, into the boot of a brandnew Rover 3500. Yet these explosives, in the unlikely event of the police telling the truth, were at least four years

old.

1 North Road had also been searched for 3 days, four years before, in February 1979. Yet again, the ‘super-efficient’ ATS had, according to their own account, failed to look under the floorboards. Here too, as with Trafalgar Road, they found traces of explosives on the floor in the bathroom having taken the panels off the bath. But they did not manage to find 10lbs of nitro-glycerine and other explosives under the floorboards.

According to the police, therefore, their incompetence in two 3 day searches in February 1979 left explosives ‘undiscovered’ in two flats endangering the lives of those who lived in or near either flat. Of course, the timing of the North Road ‘discovery’ was very convenient for the John McComb trial.

## DISAPPEARING DETONATORS

The twisted story of police ‘evidence’ does not end with the Amazing Discoveries. During the committal proceedings for John McComb, 13/14 September 1982, the police claimed that the 72 detonators ‘found’ in Trafalgar Road had been destroyed because they were in a dangerous condition. Yet when, later, a defence expert went to Woolwich Arsenal to examine the explosives, he found the ‘destroyed’ detonators neatly-labelled and laid out on a shelf.

## DEFENCE HARASSED

The police machinations continued during the trial itself. A member of the defence team in the trial was repeatedly followed by the police. A clear act of

intimidation. The person concerned was so frightened by the police that she would not come to court to identify the officers involved when the issue was raised in court.

Andrew Collins, a Junior Treasury Counsel, who was acting for the defence was accused of ‘perverting the course of justice’ by ‘signalling’ to John McComb whilst he was being cross-examined. A full-scale police inquiry was instituted by the Director of Public Prosecutions. The inquiry completely exonerated Collins but no doubt the mud will stick.

Finally, the Attorney-General attempted to have John McComb psychologically examined during the trial. This attempt took place during a weekend adjournment when John McComb was in the course of giving his evidence. When the Judge was informed of this illegal approach, he declined to do anything about it. John McComb, fortunately, refused this illegal examination.

And so John McComb was framed. The evidence was ‘found’ and the defence harassed in a systematic police plot to ensure his conviction. This is the true face of British ‘justice’ and typical of the way in which Irish nationalists are incarcerated by the British state. The message from the British imperialists is simple: if we want to jail you we’ll find the evidence to do it; if you defend Irish nationalists you’ll be in trouble. And do not forget the ‘destroyed’ 72 detonators waiting to be ‘found’ under somebody’s floorboards. Or the explosives. Or the traces of explosives.

Terry Marlowe

## NEW DOLE SQUADS ATTACK

continued from page 1

that it was ‘too easy’ for youth to live on social security. The purpose of cutting meagre state payments to the youth is to force them to accept poverty wages and slave labour conditions if they do find work, and at the same time force them to live with their parents (thus also relieving the enormous demand for very scarce rented housing). What little independence youth have is to be taken away so that the threat they pose to the ruling class can be more easily contained. The spectre of the youth-led uprisings of 1981 haunts the ruling class.

Of course there’s one rule for the poor, quite another for the rich. Take Mr Denis Thatcher for example. In July he got a new job. He now has five jobs altogether, each one a directorship. His latest appointment is with Attwoods

Gerald Johnson

and is really hard work. He’ll have to attend more than six meetings – a year – poor chap, if he wants to get his salary. One of Mr Thatcher’s other hard jobs is as a director of Quinton Hazell which was discovered paying its workers in South Africa wages that were below the EEC recommended wage (in itself hardly a handsome sum). Three years ago Chipman Limited of which Mr T is chairman, was making a weedkiller containing the substance 2-4-5-T, more commonly known as Agent Orange: the chemical weapon used by the US imperialists to devastate large areas of Vietnam.

While those who receive a miserable pittance on the dole are hounded by the heavy mob, the rich are free to plunder at will.

Gerald Johnson

# WAR IN CHAD

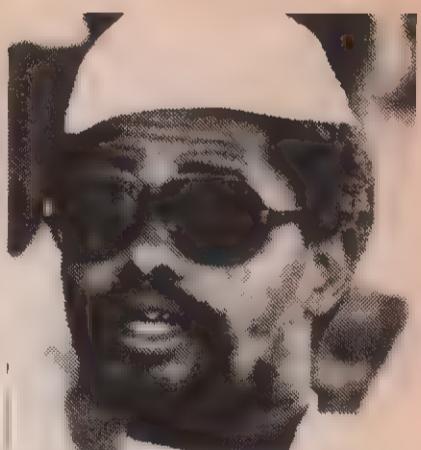
continued from page 1

fighter bombers. So impressed was *The Guardian* that it blithely observed that the estimated three thousand French paratroopers and Foreign Legionnaires now outnumber the Habré forces they supposedly support by ‘a ratio of seven to five’. In fact the marshalling of the news media to the cause of intervention has been systematic. On 11 July the US *Newsweek* magazine reported that (US) ‘military sources confirmed that no Libyan ground troops’ were engaged in

combat. By late July the French contingent was imminent; stories of Libyan and East European soldiers at the front were printed, emanating from ‘western intelligence sources’ and ‘diplomatic sources requesting anonymity’. The story was repeated until treated as ‘fact’ and the sources were forgotten or conveniently overlooked as the TGNU ‘became’ Libyans. However on 28 August *Sunday Times* reporter Jon Swain confided that ‘not a single journalist has actually seen a shot fired in anger. We are all agreed that the French are to blame. They simply banned journalists from the war zone’.

## TREACHERY

Mitterrand’s election to the French Presidency in 1981 was celebrated with a tumult of red flags waving down the Champs Elysée. His Socialist government, formed in an alliance with the French Communist Party, and which includes Communist Party ministers, joined the growing anti-Soviet frenzy in April by expelling 47 Soviet citizens, has now placed itself alongside Britain and the USA in the front ranks of the imperialist assault against the struggles of oppressed peoples around the world. This is done with the acquiescence of the French Communist Party which allows its members to serve in Mitterrand’s administration. That administration is propping up a President appointed by his own armed band (the Armed Forces of the North). He heads a regime which sides with imperialism against the Polisario Front struggle for independence in the Western Sahara, and which has welcomed to Chad the very imperialist power that has reduced this nation to a state of destitution. Starvation, disease and illiteracy, as a result of French imperialism, are the norm for a people with an average annual income of less than sixty dollars. Colonial and neo-colonial rule this century have depopulated



President Habyarimana

Chad for forced labour in French coastal colonies, extended the desert through reckless cash-crop farming, and built but 150 miles of paved road in a country over twice the size of France!

Imperialism insists upon the complete subjection of Chad’s people and territory. Its politicians and press wail at the idea of Libyan support for TGNU forces, but consider it their natural right to have bases stationed all over Africa with troops charging out whenever they deem their interests threatened by the will of African people. The *Economist* magazine openly states that Chad lies next to Egypt and the Sudan ‘the western gateposts to the oil world of the Gulf’. Others call for a bridgehead from which to attack the Libyan government which has taken an anti-imperialist stance on many struggles. This brazen hypocrisy is swelled in its confidence, and racist reaction becomes more strident, through the treachery of Mitterrand, his party and its followers. Genuine socialists, communists and democrats must demand that French troops get out of Chad, imperialist bases be withdrawn from Africa, and self-determination for the African people.

Trevor Rayne

## US ATTACKS NICARAGUA

US President Reagan has spoken: the US ‘must exercise leadership in Latin America and the time is now! And so, on 26 July he announced the sailing of a huge armada to begin the biggest ever military exercise in Central America, scheduled to last until March 1984! The immediate aim is physically to isolate Nicaragua and step up the proxy war US imperialism is waging against the revolutionary Sandinista government. However, that aim may, at any time, be supplanted by the US military’s fourth full-blooded invasion of Nicaragua this century.

Currently, late August, the armada of warships is divided into two flotillas forming a pincer movement on Nicaragua’s Western, Pacific and Eastern Caribbean coasts. The Eastern fleet size will rise to thirty-two vessels, and be joined by British and Dutch boats. Cruise missiles, jet-fighters and over 100 thousand US troops are aboard. US officials claim to be ‘practising’ a blockade with mock interceptions and seizures of ships. Yankee grandiose war games has

deadly intent. A Soviet merchant vessel was harassed. Five thousand warriors have already streamed up Honduran beaches to ‘manoeuvres’ along Nicaragua’s northern border. Ten military bases in this region house fascist Somoza ‘contras’, equipped and trained by the US, who continue sorties across Nicaragua’s border to murder, sabotage and burn down settlements. Three new bases, capable of receiving military cargo planes, are currently under construction as daily flights add to the im-

# IRELAND

26 Counties

## UNEMPLOYMENT

At the end of July there were 192,023 people registered unemployed in the 26 Counties. This is an increase of 3,000 on the June figure and comes at a time when temporary summer working is usually expected to stem the increase. (The extent of this appalling situation can be appreciated by comparing this figure with the number employed in manufacturing industry at the end of March this year: 188,800, and with the transport industry which employs 199,900.) One in every three persons unemployed is under the age of 25.

So far in August there have been further announcements of job losses, one of the biggest being 700 redundancies at Dunlop's tyre factory in Cork. Furthermore, school-leavers who are not able to get a job will join the register in September. This means that at that time there will be over 200,000 jobless. It was only six years ago that the Prime Minister at that time, Jack Lynch, said that any government which tolerated 100,000 unemployed should not stay in office!

While the recent cuts in state benefits hit the unemployed, the rest of the working class is hit by the highest taxation in Europe. Living standards are being reduced to arrest the fall in profit rates. And while the ruling class demands greater increases in what it calls productivity unemployment will certainly continue its sharp rise. During the last financial year 724 companies went bust and in July this year 47 have now gone the same way.

Meanwhile the Irish Labour Party, whose coalition with Fine Gael guarantees continued bourgeois rule in the 26 Counties, has been so discredited by its active complicity in attacks on the working class that it has cancelled its annual conference this year! The Labour Party doesn't want even a minority of its members to have the opportunity to criticise the Party's loyalty to capitalism. As far as the so-called Trade Union movement is concerned, the only oppo-

sition it can muster is to call on the government to take some short term action.

A more spirited type of protest, however, took place on Friday 15 July when 30 unemployed from local action groups in Dublin invaded the most expensive restaurant in Ireland, the Mirabeau and staged a demonstration. This feasting house of the rich displays no prices on its menu and boasts that if you have to ask the prices you obviously can't afford to eat there.

The demonstrators got in by booking a table under a fake name and when the Garda arrived the unemployed people went outside and joined a picket to show up the gross inequalities between rich and poor. When the Garda threatened to make arrests for obstruction a protester replied that instead of picking on the unemployed the police should arrest the Mirabeau's owner, Sean Kinsella, whose Rolls Royce was parked on the pavement and whose tax disc had expired. A crowd of local people cheered the protesters for their action (although, needless to say, the 'respectable' and very rich Mr Kinsella was not apprehended by the 'law').

As the unemployed, especially the youth, get organised the 26 County state will face a more determined challenge than the petty bourgeois labour leaders will ever be prepared to mount.

Gerald Johnson

## LIVINGSTONE ATTACKED

Ken Livingstone, Leader of the GLC, recently compared Britain's treatment of Ireland with Hitler's treatment of the Jews. The only difference being that Britain spread over 800 years what Hitler did in 12. Given the Cromwell massacres, the famine, the atrocities of the Black and Tans, the present day concentration camps and murder of children by British troops, this seems a reasonable analogy.

But British imperialism cannot bear the truth. Livingstone was subjected to the usual barrage of slander from the British press and, predictably, from his Labour Party 'colleagues'.

The press attack bore no great relation to the facts. In an editorial, the *Sunday Times*, whilst admitting callous behaviour in the past, claimed that present day British policy in Ireland is motivated by 'altruism'. This is a strictly British use of the word. The 'altruism' of 13 shot dead in shoot-to-kill operations since November 1982; 14 shot dead on Bloody Sunday; 14, including 7 children, slaughtered by plastic bullets. Such is the twisted language of imperialism – similar, indeed, to the euphemisms employed by the Nazis who, doubtless, were also motivated by such 'altruism'.

The contenders in the bogus Labour Party leadership contest – an unusual case of rats fighting to take over a sinking ship – quickly disown Livingstone. Kinnock called him 'eccentric' – it is eccentric for a member of the Labour Party to condemn British action in Ireland. Hattersley called it 'absurd and offensive' – as an ex-member of Labour governments Hattersley would be offended by any exposure of British terror in Ireland. Heffer thought it was 'unfortunate' – in other words Heffer is a coward.

The speed with which these 'rivals' rushed to disown Livingstone's statement is eloquent testimony to their united commitment to continued British oppression in Ireland.

Mike Hunt

## Informers

# 32 GAOLED ON CORRUPT EVIDENCE

On 2 August 1983, Judge Basil Kelly pronounced judgement on the 38 nationalist people accused on the 'evidence' of informer Christopher Black. This trial, which began on 6 December 1982, lasted 117 days and is estimated to have cost over £1 million, making it the longest and most expensive trial in Irish legal history. Despite the fact that Black had admitted perjury in an earlier case, Judge Kelly, a former Unionist MP, described Black as the best witness he had ever heard.

On 2 August 21 men were convicted of membership of the IRA. The following day, 29 men and 5 women were convicted of more than 230 'offences'. On 4 August Judge Kelly took just over an hour to hand out sentences, jailing 21 men and 1 woman for periods totalling 4,022 years. All this on the uncorroborated 'evidence' of an informer in a non-jury Diplock court presided over by an ex-Unionist MP. This is the true face of British 'justice' in Ireland. Out of the 38 charged only 3 were acquitted and only 3 of those convicted were not sent to prison. Such trials are a new form of internment.

At the same time another judicial charade was going on in Belfast Crown Court where 28 Derry men and women faced a preliminary hearing based on the 'evidence' of another paid informer, Raymond Gilmour. 27 were returned for trial. This hearing was punctuated

by Gilmour's family shouting at him, pleading with him to retract his statements. Raymond Gilmour's father, Patrick, has been in IRA custody since last November.

In yet another informer case, Harry Kirkpatrick, who has broken off relations with his wife and mother (see FRFI 31), refused, on 22 August, to retract his 'evidence' despite pleas from his parents. His wife, Liz, was released from INLA custody on 25 August. Kirkpatrick was brought to trial on 3 June and given concurrent sentences totalling nearly 1000 years as well as 5 life sentences. He, therefore, knows that he will face a very long time in prison if he retracts. He has also obviously been given the full RUC psychological treatment.

It is clear that despite the RUC's efforts, they are not always successful in obtaining informers. Thomas McCrystal, on a life sentence in H-Block, was

Shoot to kill

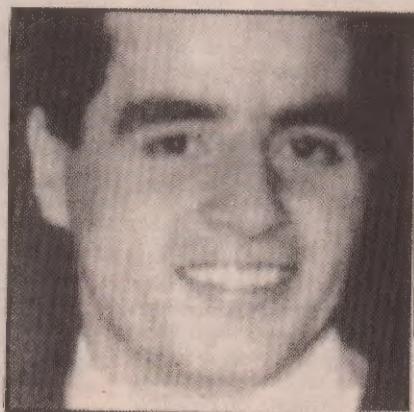
## BRITS MURDER NATIONALISTS

With the victory of Sinn Fein in the October 1982 Assembly elections, the forces of British imperialism, both 'official' and 'unofficial' stepped up their terror campaign against the nationalist people. The shoot-to-kill policy of the British Army/RUC/UDR was re-introduced last November when the RUC murdered 3 IRA Volunteers: Gervase McKerr, Eugene Toman and Sean Burns. Following the Sinn Fein election successes in June, the same tactic is once again the order of the day.

On Tuesday 26 July the RUC murdered 25 year old Anthony O'Hare following a raid on a post office on the Teghnevan estate in Lurgan. O'Hare was chased by four RUC men who shot him dead with bursts of automatic fire. There were many nationalist children playing in the area at the time and houses at the end of the street were shot up.

In the early hours of Saturday 30 July the next killing took place. Martin Malone was shot dead at point blank range by one of a gang of 40 UDR men. Martin, from Drumbreda Crescent Armagh, was with friends when they were harassed by an 8 man UDR patrol. When he got to the spot he found 40 UDR men lying in wait. One of them, standing a few feet away from Martin, took the safety catch off his rifle and shot Martin dead.

The third murder in the present round of shoot-to-kill operations took place in Belfast on 9 August – the twelfth anniversary of internment. A British Army foot patrol stopped a group of youths on the Whiterock Road. After the usual British Army threats a scuffle broke out. Thomas Reilly, having been released by the patrol, ran off. Realising that he was being chased, he stopped and turned round with his hands held high. A British soldier, having moved



Thomas Reilly

back to get a better aim, then shot Thomas Reilly dead. British Army soldier Ian Richard Thain was later charged with the murder but released into military custody on £100 bail.

In protest against the shoot-to-kill operations, the nationalist youth of Belfast responded with 3 days of fierce street fighting against the RUC and British army. The revolutionary youth made it clear that they will respond to fire with fire. Later on Sunday 14 August Sinn Fein organised a demonstration to the spot where Thomas Reilly was murdered. Over 1,500 people heard Eugene Toman's brother say:

'This is not only a few hotheads in the RUC, UDR, British Army, but it is a policy which comes from the top. It is aimed, not at Republicans but at the nationalist people as a whole.'

Once again British imperialist rule in Ireland stands exposed. British rule in Ireland can only be maintained by massive terror. As Malachy Toman stated the shoot-to-kill policy 'comes from the top'. British imperialism will continue to murder nationalist people until it is driven from Ireland.

Alan James.

approached to turn informer. He refused saying he would rather cut his throat. Informer Charlie Dillon withdrew evidence against 6 men he had implicated. Sinn Fein has now begun a full-scale campaign against the informer tactic.

The successful campaign against torture in Castlereagh and the unbroken resistance of the nationalist people has forced the imperialists to turn to the 'supergrass' tactic. Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! urges all communists, anti-imperialists and democrats in Britain to raise their voices in condemnation of the sordid, vicious and corrupt 'supergrass' tactic.

Pauline Sellars

Christopher Black the informer whose hired testimonies sent many Republicans to jail, is hated throughout Ireland. In conversation with a taxi driver travelling up the Falls Road an EISC member heard that neither USA Canada or New Zealand would have him as an exile. The driver said that the only country that would probably have him would be racist South Africa. Our EISC member responded that this was true but Black would have to change his name to White!



## IN BRIEF

### • British gunmen walk free

The Dublin government's open collaboration with and total subservience to British imperialism was highlighted in the mid-July by the 'trial' of four RUC officers in the non-jury Special Criminal Court.

On 8 August 1982 (see FRFI 31) four armed men were spotted behaving suspiciously in a pub in Castleblayney, Monaghan, in the 26 Counties. When Garda arrived these four men resisted arrest and, after a punch-up, were disarmed. They turned out to be officers of the British Royal Ulster Constabulary. As being fully armed they were carrying lists of names, addresses, numbers and pubs. It was obvious they were an undercover squad sent across the border to attack Republicans. RUC men were subsequently released and sent home, although since so many people had witnessed the affair the 'Free State' government had to bring charges.

Almost a year later, and ignored by 'Free State' press, the four came before the Special Criminal Court in Dublin. Garda were so keen to ensure that their mates in the British RUC were not convicted that they didn't call any of the eyewitnesses. Instead they brought in some to discredit the eyewitnesses as 'known IRA men' (without producing any evidence to back this up). Then they called their own 'eyewitness' who said he hadn't been in Castleblayney at the time of the incident and so hadn't actually seen anything. Finally a series of Garda officials heartwarmingly told the judge how four RUC men had been in danger in the angry crowd of locals which gathered outside the pub.

Not surprisingly the judge set all RUC men free, only giving out minor fines to three of them for unlawful possession of weapons. Contrast this with the way Republicans are treated in the same court. In contrast Republican activists and sympathisers are serving long sentences in 'Free State' jails for similar offences.

Gerald Johnson

### • Sinn Fein delegation visits London

From 26-28 July a two-man Sinn Fein delegation – Joe Austin and Gerry Adams MP – visited London at the invitation of Ken Livingstone. The previous Sinn Fein delegation invited to London also included Gerry Adams who was banned under the PTA on the grounds of his alleged 'involvement in terrorism'. The Sinn Fein success in the general election, in which Gerry Adams was elected MP for West Belfast, has forced the British government to lift the ban. The visit was, therefore, an important victory against suppression of political censorship.

However, the British press typically did its bit to maintain the censorship. Despite swarming round the delegation hardly any serious reports appeared. The Labour Party too displayed typical cowardice. When the delegation attended a meeting in the House of Commons only 8 Labour MPs found sufficient courage to attend.

The only major public event was a rally at Finsbury Town Hall on Wednesday 26 July. The audience largely consisted of middle class left supporters of the Labour Party and was used by Chris Smith MP to launch an attack on the Republican movement. He was, however, loudly denounced by large sections of the audience. Both Sinn Fein speakers were given warm and lengthy ovations. Gerry Adams was given two standing ovations.

The visit was a significant breach of British imperialist propaganda and censorship. For this the government exacted its revenge by banning Gerry Adams from visiting Irish POWs in English prisons. Predictably, hardly a word of protest was heard from the Labour Party 'Friends of Irish Freedom'.

Terry Marlowe

# Round-up

## The innocent must pay

Gordon Teal was assaulted by the police and arrested in May 1981 whilst selling FRFI in Leeds. He was charged with 'breaching the peace' and 'peddling without a licence'. He was finally acquitted of all charges in April 1983, yet is still being forced to fight the legal system.

After a successful appeal returned a not guilty verdict in Leeds Crown Court on points of law, the West Yorkshire Police appealed to the Divisional Court which ordered the case to be heard again at Leeds Crown Court. The Crown Court again returned an innocent verdict on the facts of the matter, ie the police were lying. Nevertheless, as a direct result of the police appeal to the Divisional Court, Gordon Teal has to pay £309.50 in legal aid contributions. This amounts to £174 more than his original fine imposed by the Stipendiary Magistrate. Gordon Teal would, therefore, have been financially better off not appealing and accepting the criminalisation of political activity by the police and magistrate.

Complaints to the Law Society about the injustice of this £309.50 bill have provoked only threats that unless the £309.50 is paid, Gordon Teal will have to pay for the whole legal costs incurred on his behalf, which could amount to £1,000 or more. Whatever the outcome of the case, says the Law Society, and even though it was the police that asked for the case to be taken to the Divisional Court, the legal aid contributions have to be paid.

It is only imperialist justice which penalises a twice proven innocent person to the tune of £309.50 merely for establishing the truth that the police were lying. The police, it seems, can take all their lost cases to the Divisional

Court to ensure their victim pays a financial penalty and to ensure their victim is pressurised and harassed 28 months after the arrest.

**Gordon Teal**

## Dundee Irish Solidarity

On Saturday 13 August a rally was held in the central shopping precinct in Dundee to show solidarity with the struggle for self-determination of the Irish people. A group of about 20 from Edinburgh ISC travelled up and gave considerable support. EISC and DISC and Anti-Apartheid banners were set up – also a bookstall and photo display of some of the violence meted out by the 'security' forces against the nationalist community.

The speakers were able to address both levels of the split level shopping centre, where an encouraging number of people were showing more than a passing interest. Pro-loyalist voices, after an early outburst of the usual profanities, faded out strutting and muttering something about kings and queens and no surrender. A pity really, as in large numbers they can be ugly enough not only to defeat their own purpose, but also unwittingly serve to emphasise the rational case being put by the speakers on behalf of self-determination for Ireland. A fair measure of that rationale must be the ex-squaddie who started out by heckling and shouting murder, then towards the end of the speeches approached our group wanting to know more.

Over 100 copies of FRFI were sold. A petition calling for 'Victory to the Irish People' and asking for donations netted 300 signatures and £25 in donations.

On 16 August BISM supporters in Dundee held a successful meeting and showed 'The Patriot Game'. Around 25 people attended, 12 of whom pledged their support to the Irish people's cause and agreed to set up an Irish Solidarity Committee in Dundee.

**GR  
CR, Dundee**

## Police arrest door-to-door sellers

On 3 August 1983 three FRFI supporters were selling door-to-door on an estate in Peckham, South

London. FRFI supporters have been selling door-to-door in South London for over four years without any trouble, but on this occasion two police drove up and demanded our 'licence to peddle' and our names and addresses. When we asked why we had to give our names and addresses two of us, Pauline Sturges and Chris Procter, were arrested. The two were held for 3 hours and charged under an 1871 Act with 'Peddling without a licence'. Defeated in Leeds, using a different act, the police are now trying the 1871 Act against FRFI. This is very serious for it challenges the very right to sell progressive literature and enables the police to apply political censorship against whoever they wish.

After a court hearing on 26 August, the case was adjourned to 22 November. Both comrades have been refused legal aid. Yet both are unemployed and the case involves an important legal point which requires professional legal representation. FRFI is determined, despite this, to defend the right to sell free from police harassment for all progressive organisations.

The Peckham 2 campaign has received a big boost with the arrival from West Belfast of a petition sheet signed by Gerry Adams MP and 18 others. Gerry Adams writes: 'Our organisation wishes you well. We understand your position as our own paper sellers are also arrested and harassed.'

We urge all readers and supporters of FRFI to join the campaign. Write to your MP demanding the dropping of the charges and the right of legal aid for the two comrades. We urge you also to send donations and messages of support. Leaflets/petition sheets and further information can be obtained from: SLFRFI, BM Box 4835, London, WC1N 3XX (POs/cheques made payable to Peckham 2 Defence Campaign).

**Pauline Sturges  
Chris Procter**

## NATIONAL DEMONSTRATION

**Hands Off Central America!  
No More Chiles!**

**London**  
**Sunday 11 September**

**Assemble 1pm at Clerkenwell Green, London EC1**  
**Rally in Trafalgar Square**  
**Organised by Chile, El Salvador Nicaragua Solidarity Campaigns**

## GLASGOW

**Report on visit to Korea – world conference of Journalists against imperialism and for friendship and peace.** Thursday 15 September, Room 4, City Halls, Albion St, Glasgow, 7.30pm. Called by Glasgow Irish Freedom Action Committee

## 17 - 23 SEPTEMBER

### LONDON

**March – Rally – Demonstration for Palestine.** Saturday 17 September. Assemble 1.15 Temple Gardens. National and International Speakers Hyde Park 3pm. Organised by the Sabra and Shatila First Anniversary Committee

### GLASGOW

**Scottish Lobby of Tony Benn. 'Friend of Zionism, Enemy of Ireland, Labour Party Murderer'. Victory to Ireland's Freedom Fighters! Victory to the PLO!** Saturday 17 September 9.30am GFT, Rose Street. Called by GIFTAC

### LIVERPOOL

**Public Forum: Apartheid and Black Workers** Wednesday 21 September, AUEW Hall, Mount Pleasant, 7.30pm. Admission 20p. Called by Liverpool FRFI

### SOUTH LONDON

**South London Irish Solidarity Committee Public Meeting. British 'Justice' in Ireland** Thursday 22 September 7.30pm, Lambeth Town Hall, Brixton. Speakers: SLISC, FRFI, RCL

### MANCHESTER

**Public Forum: Imperialist Hands off Nicaragua!** Tuesday 13 September 7.30pm, St Matthews Meeting Place, Brixton Hill. Guest speaker from Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign. Called by FRFI

## EVENTS

## 10 - 16 SEPTEMBER

### LEEDS

**Picket of Yorkshire Electricity Board. Against British and Yorkshire Electricity Board support for the Apartheid regime of South Africa** Saturday 10 September Merrion Centre, Leeds at 10am. Called by FRFI

### LONDON

**South and North London Irish Solidarity Committees, Street Meeting. Victory to the Irish People! Troops Out Now!** Saturday 10 September Prince of Wales Pub, Brixton, 10.30am

### LEEDS

**Sponsored swim. Support FRFI!** Sponsor forms from FRFI, c/o LAP, 59 Cookridge St, Leeds 2. Sunday 11 September, Olympic Pool 10am. Called by FRFI

### SOUTH LONDON

**Public Forum: Imperialist Hands off Nicaragua!** Tuesday 13 September 7.30pm, St Matthews Meeting Place, Brixton Hill. Guest speaker from Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign. Called by FRFI

## Edinburgh FRFI pickets US Consulate

On Wednesday 3 August Edinburgh FRFI Group organised a picket outside the US Consulate in Edinburgh to express our opposition to US plans to invade Nicaragua. The picket was attended by over 70 people, most of whom represented political organisations in Edinburgh. In addition to FRFI supporters, present were the Edinburgh ISC, Latin American Solidarity Campaign, Young Communist League and Rosyth Women's Peace Camp. There were also Chileans and El Salvadoreans. Representatives from each of these organisations spoke about why they were there and why they opposed British and US imperialism. The loud and enthusiastic chanting lasted for an hour and a half: chants of 'Nicaragua! Vietnam! You Won't Win, Uncle Sam!', 'Reagan, Shultz, CIA! How Many Kids Have You Killed Today!', 'Hands Off Nicaragua! Hands Off Cuba! Free El Salvador!' and

'Hands Off Nicaragua! Stop the Blockade Now!'

The picket was well organised and disciplined and we gave the police no excuses to harass us. There were many people entering the Consulate and our message came across loud and clear. The picket was a great success so another was arranged for the following Wednesday. New people came along and it followed the same format as the first. From the second picket came a proposal to carry on the weekly pickets until 3 September when the Latin American Solidarity Campaign is having a march through Edinburgh. This was unanimously agreed upon with the agreement that a phone system should be arranged so that if Reagan intensifies the blockade or invades Nicaragua we will all be ready to mobilise another picket or take further action right away. We intend to carry on our opposition to Reagan's plans until the US withdraws their fleets and leave Nicaragua in the hands of the people.

**Lorna Morgan**



## JIM REILLY

Jim Reilly, Luton Sinn Fein and Home Counties Organiser for Sinn Fein (Britain), died on Friday 26 September 1980. Right up to the moment of his death Jim Reilly continued his life long struggle as a revolutionary Republican to free Ireland from British rule. For this he earned

the hatred of British imperialism which hounded him to his death and framed his close comrade Gerry Mac Lochlainn, now imprisoned in Maidstone prison.

The Revolutionary Communist Group and Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! salute the courage and dedication of comrade Jim Reilly whose death was a great loss both to the Republican movement and the British working class. His memory lives on amongst all anti-imperialists fighting today for Irish freedom.

**SYMPATHY** FRFI learned with great sadness of the death of John McCluskey Snr, father of Irish POW John McCluskey, on 30 August. We send condolences to John McCluskey, Helen O'Brien and all relatives and friends of the family.



The photo shows Gillian being arrested outside Old Street Magistrates Court on 27 July. The Stoke Newington and Hackney Defence Campaign were picketing the court and had all been threatened with arrest. Gillian and another youth were arrested shortly after this.

## PUBLICATIONS

Peter Wardlaw II

**How to Avoid Holocaust II**  
£1.35 – Survival Press, add 40p for p&p. Cheques and Postal Orders to Larkin Publications, BCM Box 5909 London WC1N 3XX

**Afghanistan – Darkness into Light**  
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**FRFI Supporters Group** meets fortnightly. Next meetings Monday 19 September, 3 and 17 October. Further details from FRFI Box 40, First of May Bookshop, 43 Candlemaker Row, Edinburgh

### LEEDS

**FRFI Supporters Groups** meet every second Thursday: next meeting 15 September, at Leeds Trades Club, Savile Mount, Leeds 7, 7.30pm. Further details from FRFI, c/o LAP, 59 Cookridge Street, Leeds 2

### STOKE NEWINGTON

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**FRFI supporters** are active in local campaigns, Irish Solidarity Committees, anti-racist campaigns and other political struggles in DUNDEE, EDINBURGH, GLASGOW, LIVERPOOL, MANCHESTER, LEEDS, BRADFORD, SOUTHAMPTON, BRISTOL AND LONDON. If you wish to join us in our activities, help us sell FRFI and help build an anti-imperialist movement, contact your local seller or write to FRFI, BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX

## IRISH

## SOLIDARITY COMMITTEES

### BRADFORD

**Irish Solidarity Committee.** For details contact BISC c/o Starry Plough Bookshop, The Left Club, 6 Edmund Street, Bradford.

### DUNDEE

**Irish Solidarity Committee** – contact FRFI sellers

### GLASGOW

**Irish Freedom Action Committee** meets weekly. For details write to GIFAC c/o Box 27, 488 Great Western Road, Glasgow

### TYNESIDE

**Action Committee on Ireland** meets weekly. For details write to A S King, c/o Porters Lodge, Newcastle University, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

### NORTH LONDON

**Irish Solidarity Committee** meets on Friday 16 September at Camden Labour Club, Carol St, near Camden Tube at 7.30pm. For details write to NLISC, BM 4835, London WC1N 3XX

### SOUTH LONDON

**Irish Solidarity Committee** meetings are held at 7.30pm, at Lambeth Town Hall, Brixton. Next meeting Friday 16 September. For details write to SLISC, BM 4835, London WC1N 3XX

### LIVERPOOL

**Irish Solidarity Committee** meets fortnightly. For details write to LISC, PO Box 94 Liverpool L69 8AY

### SOUTHAMPTON

**Irish Solidarity Committee.** For more information contact BISM, BM Box 4835 London WC1N 3XX

# ~ LETTERS ~

Dear FRFI,  
It was a privilege to go to Belfast on the recent delegation to commemorate the 12th Anniversary of Internment. This was my first trip to the North of Ireland, and as a black revolutionary, fighting here in Britain against imperialism and its necessary evils, I came away with a clear understanding that all revolutionary fighters here must fight with the oppressed people of the North of Ireland until the last British, and pro-British soldier and police, has left Ireland or has been defeated.

The warmth and hospitality of the Nationalists of Belfast is something that will remain with me forever; something I have felt only when living with the oppressed peoples who are in the struggle for liberation. I found great encouragement in talking to the youth, even those of 10 years, to see how politically aware they are of just what it is they are fighting, and why it has to be that way.

Despite the numerous British RUC murder acts and other foul deeds perpetrated on the Nationalists, the spirit of revolution lives on, and in the words of everyone 'will never die'. And yet, despite the tragic fact of people having to live behind barriers, and surrounded by forts, these kind-hearted brave determined people live a life full of smiles and happiness no imperialist can ever attain.

It will do well for every single black person in the struggle against this oppressor nation, to go to the North of Ireland, meet these people and hear first-hand of the tortures which they have endured under such animals as Newman; to hear of the personal griefs of every family, and to witness the resolution with which they fight on and always will until the victory has been won.

In closing, I wish to say to all black people and those of our white and working-class comrades who stand with us, 'Irish people, you and me, one struggle one fight'. I can assure you that the Nationalists echo the same cry. Go and see for yourself.

Yours fraternally,  
Ken Hughes

## Anti-Imperialists Visit Belfast

Dear FRFI,  
EISC took a delegation of 17 over to Belfast on 6, 7 and 8 August for the Anti-Internment March and Rally. We were all put up for the weekend by local people in the Springhill area. Tri-colours and Starry Ploughs could easily be seen flying above the houses but what wasn't so enlightening were the Union Jacks flying behind the barricade that separates the Nationalists from the Loyalists. Springhill is a working class estate and the majority of the people living there were either unemployed or in low-waged jobs. Their living conditions are desperate.

Cheaply constructed houses create plumbing and heating problems and lack of money means that essentials like food and clothing are difficult to come by and having virtually nothing left over for the luxuries the British bourgeoisie drown themselves in. Despite this financial oppression the Nationalists in Springhill actively resist British rule in Ireland on the streets, in their workplaces and through their politics. Everybody we met had their own story to tell of harassment from the Brits and many had scars to prove it. They were all eager to know about our committee and read FRFI with avid interest easily relating the struggles in Africa, Central America and Britain to their own fight against imperialism. It was a great experience talking and exchanging views with people who are so politically aware and active in resisting the torture, murder and oppression that Britain has been responsible for in Ireland for hundreds of years. I left Belfast all the more convinced that building a solidarity movement in Britain is of the utmost importance in the struggle to free Ireland of British rule.

Lorna  
EISC



Dear FRFI,  
On 6 August I was amongst the 17 members from EISC who travelled to Belfast to take part in the Anti-Internment March and Rally.

We were made extremely welcome by the people from the Springhill area who opened their homes to us. The hospitality and kindness the families gave us was much more than we could have asked for, I have never met so many children who have so much feeling and consideration for other people. Those children are being brought up amongst the most violent surroundings imaginable – army tanks and jeeps constantly patrolling the streets and play areas, and soldiers running – nervously looking from side to side for any 'unusual' movements – fingers poised on the trigger.

The children of the family we were staying with gave up their bedroom for us and slept 3 in a bed so that we would have a comfortable sleep. The older children looked protectively after the younger ones. Spending the weekend with the families in Springhill made me understand much clearer than before why the Irish people must win their fight against British imperialism.

Speaking with the children and sharing meals with them taught me that 'they will win'.

The children of today are the revolutionaries of tomorrow!

LS  
EISC

Dear FRFI,  
On 6 August I visited West Belfast to take part in the 12th Anniversary of Internment demonstration. I was one of many who made the trip with various ISCs. This was the first time I had visited Belfast and although only there a few days it was an experience I shan't quickly forget.

What was immediately noticeable were the appalling conditions in which people were living, the run-down housing estates and the lack of facilities for children to mention but a few. Most of the people I spoke to were unemployed, especially the youth, with no real prospects of any work in the near future. It is quite obvious that imperialism cannot play a progressive role in Ireland, or anywhere else for that matter.

As we made our way to the place we were going to stay I wondered what kind of attitude the oppressed people of West Belfast would have towards us. As I began to mix with them I soon found out. They were extremely friendly and warm towards us and very hospitable. We were invited into their homes and given a bed for the night and food as well. This really touched me because these people are not exactly yet gave us what they had. They shared their homes, food and experiences with us.

What also impressed me was the level of political development

Please note our address is, FRFI BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX. SEND US YOUR LETTERS. We welcome letters from readers but please keep them as short as you can.

Dear FRFI,  
On Saturday 6 August, 17 Edinburgh Irish Solidarity Committee members went to Ireland for the 12th Anniversary of Internment.

The most striking thing for me was the very heavy British presence on the streets, while travelling along the Falls Road soldiers pointing rifles at passers-by and passing cars.

I took great delight from the resistance displayed by the Nationalist youth ranging from shouting and gesticulation to stoning of Saracens and jeeps.

The march passed without any trouble and the huge crowd listened to speeches from Danny Morrison, Martin Galvin of NORAD and Troops Out Movement speakers.

Our Committee was very well received by the people lining the route and our chants of 'Victory to the Irish People! Troops Out Now!' and 'Belfast – Brixton: One Struggle, One Fight!' received applause.

I look forward to my next visit to Ireland and to the hospitality of the residents from Ballymurphy who went out of their way in welcoming of us.

Andy

EISC

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## FUND DRIVE

### JULY/AUGUST: £880.12

What a success in just 7 weeks! The 1983 total is now £3,694.33, an average of £462 per month. This is very close to the £500 we need every month to keep FRFI at 20 pence. It proves our readers and supporters want to ensure FRFI can continue to reach those who will lead the fightback.

Special thanks to Mary in Canada for £100 and other individual readers who contributed £11.35. The FRFI Supporter Groups did not allow themselves to be overcome by summer lethargy and heat either, but instead sweated away at raising the tremendous sum of £768.77: £246 in North London, £205.48 South London, £88.08 Edinburgh, £72.90 Liverpool, £50.65 Manchester, £50 Leeds, £36.25 Bradford, £18.66 Dundee.

Let's keep it up, because FRFI defends the rights of the poor, the unemployed, the most oppressed. FRFI aims to involve more people in building an anti-imperialist movement. It can succeed only if its message reaches those who stand up for their rights and want to join the organised fightback against injustice and oppression. It can succeed only with your help. Act now by subsidising FRFI! Send us your donation or hand it in to your FRFI seller. Organise fundraising events – jumble sales, socials, collections.

We will publish all contributions in this column. If you want your name or your organisation mentioned alongside the donation please say so.

Make your donation payable to 'Larkin Publications' and return to: FRFI BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX

If we want to donate £\_\_\_\_\_ to the FRFI Fund.

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Dear FRFI,  
This letter is written to correct the letter headed 'TOM SC – sectarian stand' which appears in FRFI 30. All members of South London Troops Out Movement accept that the letter contains certain inaccuracies and incorrect impressions and we would like to take this chance to clarify the situation.

The decision to withdraw from the proposed joint meeting (concerning Irish POWs in English jails) was made solely by members of SLTOM without any pressure or influence being exerted by the TOM steering committee. Moreover, this decision was made not only because Sinn Fein (Britain) would not send a speaker, but also because SLTOM felt it inopportune to participate in such a meeting while the republican movement, and some of the prisoners are themselves undecided concerning Irish POWs in English jails.

SLTOM regret our late withdrawal from this meeting and would like to make it clear that it by no means alters our desire to organise jointly with SLISC on suitable topics in the future.

In solidarity,  
SLTOM

Dear FRFI,  
The monthly anti fascist magazine, 'Searchlight', has often exposed links between the Loyalists of Northern Ireland and the National Front (NF); the NF in turn have been shown to have links with fascist groups in Germany, Italy and France and some of these are responsible for the recent upsurge in anti Jewish feeling across Europe resulting in several dead and many wounded following attacks on Jewish businesses and Synagogues.

In The Irish Democrat (August '83) a detailed account is given of how the NF were allowed use of Coleraine Town Hall, Co Derry, for a public meeting courtesy of the controlling Unionist Council. A young Londoner a 'Mr Pearce', told the audience mostly teenage skinheads that the British army should 'chase the IRA scum out of the rat holes where they live and shoot and hang them'. He then told the audience that he hoped that they would be ready to fight 'the black invasion of Ulster when it began.'

Martin Webster a NF leader said he was full of praise for the 'intensity of patriotism' of the Loyalists who he said unlike the ordinary Englishman had not lost their guts to fight the black invasion. He also looked forward

to bringing some of the audience over to England for NF marches, and he promised a riot for 30 July in Tottenham (north London).

This preaching is little different from that of Ian Paisley, the Orange Lodge and most of the Unionist Party, except they preach anti-Catholicism; and the Ulster Defence Association (UDA) often practices this faith in the same way as the Ku Klux Klan of America practice their hatred. Yet the UDA is still not illegal despite it being a front for sadistic homicidal maniacs eg those convicted of the Shankill Butcher murders and the Miami Showband massacre were its members.

Northern Ireland is little different it seems from the regimes of Israel and South Africa which Britain openly supports. Indeed Mrs Thatcher is reported to have said before the election that Northern Ireland is as much a part of the UK as is her London constituency of East Finchley. She too is full of praise for the Unionist cause. Need we say any more, or have any illusions about the great British way of life?

SM  
London  
TOH

## JOHN BOWDEN STATEMENT

Prisoners John Bowden and James McCaig both took part in the Parkhurst prison siege when assistant governor Gerry Schofield was taken hostage for 28 hours. Both comrades appeared at committal proceedings on the Isle of Wight on 25 and 26 July 1983. John used the public hearing to expose the truth behind prison protests. In a short statement, he said:

'Our actions were a direct consequence of certain wrongs and injustices in the British prison system. If the only way we can get a voice to the outside world is by taking various forms of criminal action then ultimately the penal administration must take the consequences and responsibility for those actions.'

John and his comrade, James McCaig, will be tried at Winchester Crown Court. FRFI sends greetings and solidarity to both comrades.

# HANDS OFF IRELAND

## MANCHESTER DEMONSTRATION

On 20 August the local demonstration called by the United Irish Solidarity Demonstration Committee marched in support of the three demands of the Albany POWs:

Complete British withdrawal from Ireland!  
Self determination for the Irish people!  
Repatriation on demand for all POWs to Ireland!

We marched through Rusholme, Moss Side and Longsight, the poor and working class areas of Manchester. The demonstration, which was 150 strong, marked a solid beginning to united action in support of the Irish struggle on the streets of Manchester.

Most organisations, locally working on Ireland, participated in one form or another in building for the demonstration with the exception of Manchester Troops Out Movement and Manchester RCP/IFM.

The general spirit of Unity for building for this march was typified in that the lead banners, bearing the three Unity slogans, were made by black youth. UISDC acknowledges the work of Asha, Kishore, Manor, Elvis, Surinder and Ciaran. Throughout the march slogans proclaiming:

*Victory to the Irish People:  
Troops Out Now!  
End Strip Searches in Armagh Jail!  
British Army - Murderers!  
UDR - Murderers!  
RUC - Assassins!*

were continuously chanted.

A black worker was moved to applaud the determined marchers as they passed through Moss Side. The militancy of the demonstration attracted the support and interest of the many people lining the route. A throng of working class people at Longsight Market, by now familiar with Manchester ISC's many battles and many victories against the police, saw and heard the marchers reach the rallying point. Banners were displayed in full view of the gathering crowd as the Chairperson started the proceedings. Edinburgh ISC opened with an exciting speech which detailed recent successful activities on the streets of Edinburgh. A speaker for Women and Ireland explained the central role of women in the liberation struggle in Ireland. She emphasised the brutality of British rule in Ireland – especially with respect to the women prisoners subjected to frequent strip searches in Armagh gaol. The speaker for Building an Irish Solidarity Movement pointed to the unity in action in Ireland when he said that when Thomas Reilly was murdered, the Irish people didn't ask which organisation he belonged to before giving their support, they knew who he was – an Irish youth, and they knew who murdered him – the British Army. It is this spirit of unity that is needed in Britain – it is not so much who calls the demon-

**DEMONSTRATION**  
**SATURDAY 1 OCTOBER 1983**  
● LONDON ●  
● Complete British withdrawal from Ireland! ●  
● Self-determination for the Irish People! ●  
● The right of repatriation for all POWs ●  
**ASSEMBLE 1pm BIDBOROUGH STREET**  
(nearest tube and rail station Kings Cross/St Pancras)

Write for leaflets and posters to  
1 October Mobilising Committee  
BM Box 4835 London WC1N 3XX

**CONFERENCE**  
**SUNDAY 2 OCTOBER 1983**  
● LONDON 9.15-5.30 ●  
**BUILD A UNITED IRISH SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT**  
**One Day National Conference**  
Caxton House, St John's Way Archway London N19  
Nearest tube Archway  
For leaflets, posters and further information, contact  
1 October Mobilising Committee  
BM Box 4835 London WC1N 3XX

want to build an effective mass solidarity movement to unite in common action in support of the Irish people against British rule in Ireland.

### MARCH AND CONFERENCE

The demonstration will march through working class areas of north London led by the Wolfe Tone Flute Band from Wishaw Scotland. On the following day, the conference will review events over the past year in Ireland and Britain. It will also have a major discussion on POWs in British gaols and in particular on their role in the recent prison protests in Britain.

## ANTI-IMPERIALISTS VISIT BELFAST

Nearly 40 supporters of Building an Irish Solidarity Movement (BISM) including representatives from Edinburgh, Glasgow, Bradford, West, North and South London ISCs, the RCG and RCL visited West Belfast on the weekend of 6-7 August. The visit was a great success as the Irish people greeted us with hospitality and solidarity when we explained the work of BISM in Britain.

Delegations in Belfast for the 12th Anniversary of Internment included BISM, Red Action, TOM and IFM from Britain and NORAD from N America. The internment of hundreds of nationalists in concentration camps by the British army on 9 August 1971 is remembered by nationalist people in the Six Counties with parades, bonfires and banging bin lids at the approach of the British army or police.

On Sunday 7 August thousands of people accompanied by Republican bands marched up the Falls Road, past Andersonstown RUC/Army barracks, to a rally at the Busy Bee shopping centre. Thousands of people lined the route, while an army helicopter hovered low overhead throughout. The Irish Solidarity Committees were proud to march in Belfast in solidarity with the Irish revolutionary struggle against British imperialism.

At the rally Billy Donnelly, who has just been released from the H-Blocks, read out the names of Republican prisoners in England and condemned the British government for refusing to allow Sinn Fein MP Gerry Adams to visit these prisoners. Speakers called on the rally to remember Irish political prisoners in Britain and their growing links in struggle with other prisoners. Sinn Fein Assemblyman Danny Morrison was cheered when he pledged that the armed struggle would continue and reminded the British that they 'have two choices of how to leave Ireland – the boat or the bullet'.

The media, loyalist politicians, and the middle-class SDLP condemned the visiting delegations for supporting the



Irish Republican Army. Arch reactionary and sectarian Thomas Passmore, leader of the Orange Order and Official Unionist Assembly MP, defended the Loyalist laager against criticism by NORAD:

'Protestants have great resentment at the allegation that Roman Catholics are forced to live under British rule. This is the United Kingdom, not Russia, and they can leave any time they wish.'

Alliance MP Sean Neeson called for the expulsion of the NORAD delegation on the grounds that criticism of Northern Ireland was a violation of hospitality by foreign visitors.

ISC supporters saw the reality of uninvited and unwelcome British rule in Ireland. At Stranraer and Larne it was 3 black comrades who were questioned by the Special Branch, made to fill in PTA record forms, and had copies of FRCI and leaflets confiscated. We saw Ballymurphy and Andersonstown ringed by British army forts, British troops and RUC patrolling the streets in

armoured landrovers, and helicopters with searchlights over the houses at night. Local people said that the army were keeping a low profile due to the presence of so many foreign visitors. The day after the ISC delegation left the open brutality returned with raids and arrests of people around the bonfires, firing of plastic bullets, and the shooting dead of unarmed youth Thomas Reilly in Ballymurphy on 9 August.

Against this British terror the ISC delegation saw what Bobby Sands called 'the spirit of freedom' in the nationalist people's lives. We saw the Republican murals, the contempt for the Brits and RUC, and how Sinn Fein is building resistance on all fronts. We heard of the bravery and sorrows of the armed struggle, the rebel ballads in nationalist clubs. We visited the graves of the republican youth, men and women who have fallen in the fight for the democratic socialist republic from 1919 to the hunger strikers of 1981.

Martin Galvin of NORAD spoke for all the visitors when he explained why Britain condemns those who expose its undeclared war against the Irish people:

'It's quite simply because Northern Ireland is an outrage which cannot stand up to the scrutiny of impartial eyes.'

The Revolutionary Communist Group and the Irish Solidarity Committees salute the unbroken resistance of the Irish people against British imperialism. We pledge to do all we can to mobilise people in Britain in support of Victory to the Irish People! Troops Out Now!, and in support of Irish prisoners of war. We will continue to work for unity of action of Irish solidarity groups in Britain.

As more people in Britain are driven into conflict with the British state we are confident that the next ISC delegations to Ireland will be larger as people will want to see how that same British imperialism has been fought to a standstill by the Irish people.

Frank Coughlin

## Build the Irish Solidarity Movement

Mobilisation for the national demonstration and conference on Saturday 1 October and Sunday 2 October is now well underway. Organised by the 1 October Mobilising Committee, these events aim to bring together all groups, organisations and individuals supporting the demands of 'Complete British Withdrawal from Ireland! Self-determination for the Irish People! The Right of Repatriation for all POWs!' The Committee is open to all organisations and individuals who support these demands and is organised on a democratic basis with full rights for all those building for the events. The 1/2 October mobilisation is an opportunity for all who genuinely

want to build an effective mass solidarity movement to unite in common action in support of the Irish people against British rule in Ireland.

### MARCH AND CONFERENCE

The demonstration will march through working class areas of north London led by the Wolfe Tone Flute Band from Wishaw Scotland. On the following day, the conference will review events over the past year in Ireland and Britain. It will also have a major discussion on POWs in British gaols and in particular on their role in the recent prison protests in Britain.

SPONSORS FOR THE EVENTS include so far: Graham Little, Jimmy Anderson (Prisoners), Ricky Wreathman, Peter Wardlaw (Scottish political prisoners), Kashmiri Independence Movement, Ron Brown MP, Jeremy Corbyn MP, Tony Rainford (Liverpool LP councillor), Revolutionary Communist Group, Revolutionary Communist League, Stoke Newington and Hackney Defence Campaign, West, North, East and South London Irish Solidarity Committees, Irish Solidarity Committees in Dundee, Edinburgh, Manchester, Liverpool, Bradford, and Southampton, Bristol Troops Out Movement, Glasgow Irish Freedom Action Committee, Scot-

tish Socialist Republican Party, Scottish Socialist Republican Clubs, Dundee Irish Republican Solidarity Committee and Red Action.

SPEAKERS AT THE EVENTS include: Michael Holden (republican and shop steward), Helen O'Brien (relative of Irish POW in English gaol), Alastair Logan (solicitor) and others. All organisations mobilising and participating in these events will also have full speaking rights.

Public meetings, mobilising events and transport have already been organised in Dundee, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Liverpool, Leeds, Bradford, Manches-

ter, Bristol, London and elsewhere.

Organisations and individuals who wish to join the committee and help in its work, or who wish to have leaflets, posters and information both about the demonstration and conference please write to 1 October Mobilising Committee, BM Box 4835, London WC1N 3XX.

The committee is desperately in need of money to organise these two events. It has already cost well over £400. Donations large or small are urgently required. All donations will be appreciated and acknowledged. Please rush whatever you can afford to 1 October Mobilising Committee, BM Box 4835, London WC1N 3XX.